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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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G-2 SAID TO BE MOST EFFICIENT ELEMENT IN COUNTRY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Jun 82 pp 5, 7

[Article by Guenther Krabbe]

[Text] The "Fourth Independence"--A Moderate Police State  
a la Lusitania. Viera Attempts Detachment from Eastern Bloc.

Bissau, 28 June--The military secret service functions best of all. Nothing remains hidden from it, and it is even better than the political secret police. This statement comes from a Western diplomat in Bissau. In what was formerly Portuguese Guinea, the GDR has also taken over state security; its almost 50 years of uninterrupted experience goes back to the Gestapo. In Ethiopia and Mozambique, also, the GDR state security people have been successful. In Angola, they still have some catching up to do. In another African country, Somalia, they were so successful that the secret political police still functions exceedingly well, although President Siad Barre changed from Eastern to Western orientation 5 years ago, and expelled the GDR advisers. It appears as if Guinea-Bissau will also remain a police state, albeit Lusitanian moderate, even if the country has gained its fourth independence. The small country of 36,000 km<sup>2</sup>--approximately the area of North Rhine-Westphalia--has already undergone three kinds of independence. Its citizens are still not free. The fourth independence, also, will not yet mean democracy.

It all started on 24 September, 1973, when the news was spread that a people's congress had assembled in the liberated town of Madina do Boe, and had declared the independence of the overseas Portuguese province. Self-styled progressive forces everywhere, including the Western world, cheered this alleged victory of guerrilla fighters of the "African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands" (PAIGC) over the Portuguese colonial troops. This legend, put into circulation at the time of Communist supporters of PAIGC, is being nurtured and believed even today by otherwise enlightened German development aid volunteers in the country. Actually, there never was such a town. The hamlet of this name, consisting of one administrative building of stone and concrete and some twenty round adobe huts, had already been abandoned, destroyed and mined in 1971. If a PAIGC "people's congress" ever took place, then it definitely was not there. The entire Madina district is so infertile, uninviting and lonely that an attempt by the new government to establish a regional school for the children of semi-nomads was

abandoned as quickly as the plan to make Madina do Boe the capital of the country. The second, the real independence from Portugal, came only in 1974 as a result of the Lisbon revolution.

But Guinea-Bissau was not yet really independent. The state was a creation of PAIGC, a Marxist-Leninist "binational" party founded and directed by Cape Verdians: it was the monolithic state party of the new republics of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Bissau was ruled from Praia, the capital of Cape Verde. The president of Bissau was the Cape Verdian Luis Cabral; the party chief was the president of Cape Verde, Aristides Pereira. In the fall of 1980, Guinea-Bissau was to get a new constitution, under which unification of the two republics into one country was to take place, as planned under the Statute of PAIGC. This constitution provided that government power in Bissau would no longer be vested in a minister-president, but a president. Black Guineans would have lost the last chance for codetermination. Guinea-Bissau, for centuries a Portuguese colony, was in danger of becoming a possession of Cape Verde. Cape Verdians, like Luis Cabral, are mulattos, descendants of African slaves and Portuguese who centuries ago had ended up on these islands, a 1,000 km in the Atlantic. Even today, Cape Verdians feel that their ties are less with Africa than with Europe and America: more than 400,000 of them live there, and only 200,000 on the islands themselves. The 850,000 blacks in Guinea-Bissau felt themselves patronized, ignored and exploited by the mulattos. The new constitutional plan finally led to an uprising on the mainland. Minister-President Joao Bernardo Vieira, a brigadier general who had become popular under the alias "Nino" as a military leader of the guerrilla fight against Portugal, struck.

The army, although infiltrated by 300-500 Soviets, and some 30 Cuban instructors and advisers, obeyed the popular "Nino." Soldiers surrounded the Hotel "24th of September" in Bissau, where about 100 of these officers lived, and arrested Luis Cabral and other Cape Verdians. On 10 November 1980 Guinea-Bissau won its third independence, independence from the Cape Verde islands. A year later, Cabral was sent to Cuba in exile. In Praia there was talk about a coup d'etat. Pereira separated the Cape Verde section of the party from the mainland section, which is still called PAIGC in Bissau, PAICV in Cape Verde. The political boycott against Bissau was only revoked on Friday 2 weeks ago, when both countries exchanged ambassadors. After the coup, Vieira let a whole year pass before taking the next step. He had consolidated his power when, at the end of 1981, the party congress met in Bissau to decide on a new central committee and a new Politbureau. Since then it has been composed of half military, half civilian members. It was a decisive factor that the Nr. 3 man in the Politbureau slid down to Nr. 9: Vasco Cabral, namesake of the toppled president, the powerful minister of Economic Coordination and Planning.

This man had worked diligently to make Guinea-Bissau into the same dismal and poverty-stricken people's democracy as Mozambique and Angola, which had also emerged from the same Portuguese colonial rule. The Ministry of Economic Planning was the key position. Among his helpers, strangely enough, were German development aid volunteers from "Dienst in Uebersee" [Service Abroad]. Evidently they, and their home office, were not familiar with Vasco Cabral's political background as one of the closest collaborators of Alvaro Cunhal,

chief of the Portuguese Communist Party aligned with Moscow. Those aid volunteers are still there, but Vasco Cabral has lost his position, and probably also his influence. This happened suddenly a month ago. Vieira, by now chief of state, head of the party and of the government, had it announced over the radio that he had reshuffled the government. He had neither asked, nor even informed, the "Revolutionary Council," supposedly the highest government organ, the Central Committee, or the party Politbureau. He obviously had a very good reason, since all three bodies, besides the "nationalists," still contain powerful communist groups with excellent ties to the Soviet "advisers." Even the secret police knew nothing of Vieira's plan. His gamble worked. The communists were taken by surprise; the ministers who were dismissed, reassigned or newly appointed only learned about the decision on the radio; and the army continued backing its "Nino."

The new cabinet list is being interpreted in Bissau as a further important step towards the fourth independence of the country, independence from the Soviet Union. Cabral lost his ministry but retains the decorative title of a "secretary of the Central Committee" and is allowed to participate in cabinet meetings. Other communists have disappeared from the scene. Vitor Freire Monteiro, a technocrat and, until now, governor of the Central Bank, is the new economics minister. Former Foreign Minister Vitor Saude Maria became minister-president and sees to it that the new foreign minister, Samba Lamine Mane, carries out a pragmatic, not dogmatic, foreign policy. The party stands insignificantly in the background. Above it is the government headed by "Nino" Vieira, who can rely fully on the army's support.

This army is still completely equipped with Soviet arms, remnants from the fight for independence which had been supported especially by the Eastern bloc. But it will not stay this way. As early as January, Vieira started to inquire among other ambassadors about the "possibility of military cooperation": Portugal, France, Brazil, Algeria and China. He did not wish to "expand the exclusive cooperation with the Soviet Union and Cuba," he stated, "in order to be more independent." France, to begin with, donated 50 passenger cars of simple design for the army. Brazil and the other countries have not yet made a decision. Portugal has cautiously taken up military aid. Officers come from Lisbon for a few days at a time, in order to assist in the establishment of military administration. The direction in which Vieira is steering can be seen from his order of early June: military badges and ranks patterned after Cuban examples will be abolished; "because the people are more familiar with them," the old Portuguese types will be reintroduced; instead of "comandante," a colonel is again a "coronel"; instead of Soviet stars, stripes will again decorate epaulets.

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PRESIDENT MOI'S SPEECH ON SELF-RULE DAY

Nairobi MSETO in Swahili 6 Jun 82 pp 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8

[Lead article by MSETO reporter: "KANU Be Alert--Moi"; text of speech by President Moi on the occasion of 19th anniversary of Kenya's gaining internal self-rule]

[Text] President Danial arap Moi this week authorized the branches of KANU, the ruling party, to be alert to judge those intending to disturb the peace in the country.

President Moi gave this authorization while addressing a crowd of citizens in Nairobi at the celebration of the 19th year since this country gained internal self-rule.

President Moi took this opportunity to sharply scold people who are not content who call themselves "revolutionaries" and he advised them to use their efforts to help build up the nation rather than to stir up the citizens.

He warned that he will not hesitate to take severe measures against those who intend to cause disturbances, even if they are members of parliament, and he wants citizens to help in this effort. Also, President Moi warned university students not to think of themselves as better than others in the country. He warned that the government spends much money each year to run the university and therefore the students should remember their studies with determination.

The complete text of President Moi's speech given on the occasion of the celebration of Self-Rule Day follows:

Kenyans, My Friends,

At this time of celebration of the holiday commemorating 19 years of self-rule I greet all Kenyans, both in the country and away. The greeting is not out of a necessity of the celebrations, rather it is a message from a cheerful heart fully discovering that we are all together to remember the uprightness and development of our nation. We have this thought, it is the same to say that, although this is a day for celebration, this time is also to be used in a peaceful way.

Thus, we must always remember that there were many people who gave their lives before self-rule was proclaimed. This can be seen as normal. But it is useful for us to remember that, while I am giving this speech today and while you are celebrating, about 60 percent of the people of Kenya were not born before the beginning of self-rule on the first of June 1963. Thus, these youth, who indeed are many in the country, do not know the truth concerning what went on before self-rule. Because of this, it is important that those among you who have the information about those former days make useful programs to make sure that the youth are instructed on the efforts which were made by Kenyans to get democracy and freedom of our nation. These efforts absolutely must not be forgotten. I would like to say that I am grieved when I see that our youth seem not to respect the order of the government and democracy they are enjoying, and which have their foundation in the rule of law and respect for the rights of man. Our freedom which remembers democracy to protect and extend the rights of man must not be scorned. All these things, therefore, must be fully remembered in everything we do.

It is because of things like this that the day of self-rule, as I have said, must be a day on which we as a nation must take a careful look at events of the past, present, and future. We must make sure that we learn from those things which have already happened and those which are happening now and prepare ourselves for those things which will happen. Moreover, this is a business which must be carried out uprightly and in a manner which reminds us of the true meaning of self-rule. Today, like the last time, I will follow the customary plan; and, to do this, I remind you that, during the last few years, I have debated with many of you concerning our skills to be relevant in the future. Today I will talk about two questions which we must keep in mind while we continue to strengthen our patriotism and prosperity in the aims we seek.

The first question I want to discuss with you today is that of preparing our youth for their duties in the future. Our youth, young men and young women, whatever they do and wherever they are, are very important. The future of our nation depends on uprightness and how they understand the nation today and its needs and how they give of themselves to arrive at these needs with honesty and effort. This means that, for these youth to be able to confront their duties as they must, their education must continue to be watched with care.

And to do this, we have to understand that this education for the youth comes from two directions. First, there is the normal education in school, the trade schools, the universities and other places of education. The second place where education is found is that in which parents and family as a unit fulfill an important responsibility.

Now there is no doubt that, as far as the program of ordinary education is concerned, our country has developed a long way since we took over the rule of the country. There has been much growth in primary and secondary schools, in trade schools, in technology schools and other institutions of higher education, including the university itself. I do not want to give you a lot of numbers without reason, but from time to time it is important to mention the numbers themselves. In 1963 we had 891,553 students but now we have about 4.3 million. In the secondary schools in 1963, we had 30,000 students, and now we have more

than half a million. As for the university, it must be remembered that in 1963 we did not have a university of our own, but we were a section of the University of East Africa. Even so, the total number of students in the University of Nairobi at that time was 375 and now the number of students in this university, along with those of Kenyatta College, is 8,800. Besides this, great development has been made in adding to and expanding the trade schools throughout the country. Now we have colleges of agriculture distinct from that of Egerton, technical colleges in the villages, national technical colleges in the cities of Nairobi and Mombasa, and study programs for vacation time which are set up by the Ministry of Workers and the Government Workers Planning Department.

Concerning government services, the educational system uses a larger sum of money in government budget estimates. When the work training programs and other efforts put out are considered, it is evident that this nation uses the larger portion of its revenue for education. One thing that is very clear in these efforts is the great chorus of citizens themselves cooperating with the government to enhance and expand the education system. The efforts of Harambee have been very important in the expansion of education in the primary and secondary schools. There were many openings in the secondary schools and they are helped by people in the area where these schools are. This willingness for great cooperation between the citizens and the government is one of the important sources of success in spreading the development to all. It is a willingness which was bragged about in the past. Today I want to stress that it is a willingness that will be needed even more in the years ahead.

The numbers that I gave you concerning our development in education are intended to show the important efforts that we as a nation continue to make in preparing the youth for their later responsibilities. But although we can rejoice and even brag about the expansion of the education system, I am not sure that we have thought more about the education that children get from their parents and society as a whole. The kind of education I am talking about here is about our customs, the efforts to deliver our country and to work at our responsibilities to society, the importance and dignity of manual labor, the importance of obedience to the nation and how it should be shown and implemented, the meaning and importance of discipline, etc. As I said here at the beginning, I am grieved at the way it is apparent that our youth do not respect our system of democracy, fortitude and remembering of the rights of man here in Kenya. When I see this, I hear myself saying that we are not doing enough to teach the youth the way that has to be done to prepare them for their important responsibilities in the years to come. And as I said last labor day, this is a responsibility which we, especially parents, must remember very thoughtfully.

I would like to add that in teaching the youth we must not hesitate to remember the necessary discipline. In other words, there is a saying that "He who fears his child's crying will cry himself." Although cruelty and poor use of discipline are not needed and can be a danger, severe steps must be taken when it is necessary. And I am not only talking about primary and secondary school here, I am also talking about students in the university and other colleges. A few days ago some of these students showed disrespect and barbarism. For all this, these students are taken care of well by the nation, especially when compared with the way Kenyan students in foreign countries are treated. I said before

that the number of students in the University of Nairobi is 8,800. But we also must know that this number would be larger if we had the money and resources because there are many Kenyans who have finished their schooling and try to attend the university but by bad luck they cannot be accepted because of a lack of openings. Many parents confronted with this problem have held back much so that they can send their children to study in other countries. These parents must pay much money, often being helped by collections made by friends and family, while the youth concerned have to accept many troubles while they are living in foreign countries. Thus, those youth who are lucky enough to get into the University of Nairobi must recognize that they are very lucky and they must not waste this opportunity.

Now if we think about this question, if we remember especially the number of Kenyans who have completed secondary school and are able to apply to the university but are not accepted because of lack of an opening and because of the huge cost of sending the youth to study in a foreign country, we must look for various ways to reduce this problem. And one way to do it is to begin programs where those students who are lucky to be accepted at the University of Nairobi will be asked to pay a little more for their education so that the university can be expanded and have more openings for more Kenyans. A plan like this must be prepared carefully so that those who truly cannot pay are helped. But the ability to pay must not be a requisite for entering the university.

Such things cause me grief, as I said before, when I see some students here in Kenya with characters which show that they are not aware of their true situation and the condition which confronts this nation as a whole. Thus, I repeat that we must take sufficient steps to make sure that our youth are fully prepared for their future responsibilities. And in these preparations it is important for the youth to understand these responsibilities I am talking about. Also I want to emphasize that we will not put up with a lack of discipline, vagrancy, and cheating in our colleges of education and training. Moreover, I want to explain openly that we will not allow a few people who think of themselves as revolutionaries, who advance foreign influence, to stir up our education and training programs. Why, what kind of revolution do they want? Can they not see the true revolution that is going on in Kenya--that is, the great efforts to make development flourish for all?

And to the youth of Kenya, I want to say a few more words. First, they must stop thinking that they know everything. They must be concerned with those things they understand before entering into those things they do not understand. Second, they must learn that, without understanding well their country, its history, society, customs, aims and the economic problems that stand in its way and its difficulties with development, they will have no foundation. Unfortunately, books and movies from so-called developed countries are corrupting our youth. The youth of Kenya must first understand that they are Kenyans, they must brag that they are Kenyans, that their later life is tied in with this country. They must also understand that their parents gave themselves as a sacrifice to fight for the independence of this country and that there is no nation which can be built on nonsense, on the use of intoxicating drugs, on not having pity for and thinking about the less fortunate among the masses, on not respecting parents, and on following the garbage of foreign influences. The youth of Kenya must

also recognize that their ability to use foreign languages and to do difficult computations does not make them leaders or give them the wisdom to change their society. Instead of that, it would be useful for them to use this ability as an important implement in learning how to be a true Kenyan, in preparing themselves to be of service to Kenya, and in defending our nation against the corrupting influences of foreign countries.

These are the things I wanted to emphasize today about this important matter. The government will continue with its efforts to expand the education system and to make a plan that will be better able to stick to the needs of the country. Concerning this, I want the nation to know that the whole education system, from primary school through university, is being looked at and perhaps it will force a large change to be made soon.

Kenyans, my friends, another think that I want to talk about today is that which I touched on a little concerning the importance for the citizens and the government cooperating in the efforts of development. While we are celebrating Self-Rule Day this year, let us remember that it is the willingness of sacrifice for your country and the unity of all Kenyans which enabled us to seize our independence, not just great difficulties and many problems. In those years, we recognize that to rely on oneself and give oneself as sacrifice were important in seizing our independence.

Our nation must be developed with great effort which must be given, as in the time of fighting for independence, honestly and in the resolve of self-sacrifice. When I was talking on education here earlier, I pointed out how the citizens themselves helped to advance education by their own voluntary efforts. Now I want to emphasize that the efforts of the individual people along with the efforts of unity in the spirit of Harambee, will continue to be the foundation of the development of our nation.

Unfortunately, from time to time you will see in some section of our country people expecting the government to do everything for the development of the economy and society. But the truth is that, even if the government would establish factories, schools, health stations and build roads, there would be very few things which could be carried out to improve our economy if the citizens themselves do not work hard at their affairs, especially farming. There are some sections of this country where there could be great development of the economy and the society, and many opportunities for work are available, if the citizens will recognize the need to work hard on their farms. The development of our nation must come from the citizens themselves while the government gives help. This does not mean that the government is abandoning its responsibilities to help the efforts of the citizens in all the affairs of the economy. But the meaning of development is development of the citizens and thus the citizens themselves must be made to share completely, as individuals and as a whole.

Moreover, in 1978, I told the nation that it is the small efforts and there is no need for vast programs carried out by the government, that all as a whole show where we have arrived in advancing our development aims. This is still true today. And so I ask the citizens in every section of this country not to

wait for the government to start up the development. Instead, they must carry it out themselves. And as for the government officials, I want to say again that we want actions, not just empty words.

This will continue to be the foundation of our program for development. Also, useful steps will be taken to make sure that the government workers, especially in the farm areas, remember the efforts of development and that they do their work with cooperation and good systems. Here it is necessary for them to change their ideas. The government workers in these areas must understand that they are servants of the people and not their overlords. Moreover, the government workers must not use the time and money of the masses traveling around the districts and regions like tourists. The government workers must work shoulder to shoulder with the citizens in all their efforts at development. And the citizens themselves must not put up with officials who are corrupt or are not carrying out their duties as they should. People like these must be revealed, and no person must fear that he will be persecuted if he gives information about officials like those. He will be protected completely, while it is clear that the corrupt one will be punished as should be done. We as a nation must recognize the importance of discipline in all places and in all our affairs. Under the influence of Nyayo, discipline is the foundation of everything.

Kenyans, my friends, I want to conclude my speech today by saying a little about the state of the economy as it confronts us in total. And to do this I want to remind you that I believe in telling the truth, and I try to see that the citizens are not kept from any of the truth. Expressly, it is my firm intention to make sure that the matters that confront us are discussed with the citizens themselves, since they are represented in the parliament.

The first thing I want to say is that we as a nation absolutely must not make light of the problems of the economy that are in front of us. The situation continues to be difficult, very much because of the economic problems of the world, and the continuing rise in the price of goods we must buy from other countries. Because of that, we have problems with many things, this along with giving sufficient opportunities for work, and getting foreign funds to help our development plans. Even so, we absolutely must take useful steps to confront these problems. As I said before, the important thing we must do is understand exactly the situation of our problems; then we solve these problems and, if we remember we have been united through volunteerism, we will win. As one example, I remind you that 2 years ago we were confronted with a great problem of a shortage of food. I called on the citizens of Kenya to make more efforts to increase the food supply while I made useful efforts to add to whatever food we had by ordering food from other countries. Today I am happy to say that we have no problem of food. The people of Kenya answered my call in the true spirit of volunteerism.

Those things we have done in this important area must be made clear to any person who doubts that our economy is flourishing and that the citizens have been busy preparing for their future, that he is twisted. And I say this because, unfortunately, there are a few twisted people in the country who remember backward ideas and use their time looking for mistakes instead of making meaningful proposals. If you see anyone with ideas like that and who has to cast blame for

whatever problem is facing us, you know clearly that he is not a follower of Nyayo. As the Bible says, you must be on your guard against the jackals who come claiming that they are sheep. Fortunately, those corrupt people are few, and we know who they are. We believe in remembering the law and protecting and extending the rights of man. And as we continue to stay with our customs of fortitude, truth and democracy, we must not allow these important customs to be used by a few people to bring about a separation in our nation. Thus, we will continue to be alert and prepared for whatever steps are needed to make our development flourish and to strengthen our nation.

These are a few things, Kenyans, my friends, that I wanted to talk to you about. And when you return to your home, and when you prepare to make more efforts for the development of our nation, continue to stay under Nyayo's influence of honesty, love and unity.

I will see many of you during the visits I am considering making in various areas of the country just after finishing my duties as chairman of the Organization of African Unity. And when I visit in your location or district, I will be amazed to see the true efforts to bring development to the economy and society. I repeat that the influence of Nyayo demands deeds, not empty words. Each one of you should be led by these influences, in all your affairs.

Harambee [Self-help]!!! Nyayo [In the Footsteps of Kenyatta]!!!

9216

CSO: 4749/37

KENYA

## CALL FOR AFRICAN-ARAB COOPERATION

Nairobi MSETO in Swahili 6 Jun 82 p 5

[Text] The committee for carrying out the Great Meeting of Arabs and Africans has the pleasure of celebrating Africa Day, 25 May 1982, and having the African Peoples fight for their independence and development and against imperialism, Zionism and opposition to development.

We want to remind you of the importance of the cooperation between the Arabs and the Africans, without forgetting the announcement of the Great Meeting of Arabs and Africans held in Luanda, Angola, in December 1981. That meeting was held under the watchwords: "Palestine, Namibia and South Africa are the true roots of the fight of Africans and Arabs." The announcement of Luanda made firm the unity of the African and Arab fight and the need for unified efforts in opposing imperialism, Zionism and opposition to development.

On Africa Day, we salute the battle of the People of Africa and their groups fighting against the enemies of unity. We want to remind you of the importance of the cohesion between the Arabs and Africans, for this cohesion is the only way to save the Africans and Arabs from the problems in front of them.

To help the people of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa are the very important roots in the fight and the sign of its truth.

And now because the enemy, Zionism, continues to occupy the land of other Arab countries and also continues to oppose the violence of the whole world and to warn that hostility [violence] is the way for the people of Palestine to seize their rights to return to their homeland and to set up their own free government under the leadership of the PLO, the legal and only Party. It is also the way for making the City of Jerusalem [Bayt al-Muqaddas] and the Golan Heights part of their country. The Government of Zaire's cooperation with Israel is a dangerous action, not because it is an action against brotherhood and the cooperation between the Africans and Arabs, but because it is an action that was done under the burden of imperialism, Zionism and segregation.

The announcement of Luanda said in its fifth section that the fights of the Africans and the Arabs are one and the same. Thus, the tricks of the enemies should not be allowed to ruin the unity of action or weaken the cooperation that now exists between the Africans and Arabs.

Thus, the committee for carrying out the Great Meeting of Africans and Arabs calls on all the forces of patriotism, democracy and progressiveness in Africa and the whole world to censure the Government of Zaire for this action which has no redeeming value. It adds to segregation and hostility and it does some violence to the relationship of common roots and fighting that exists between the Africans and Arabs.

We want to remind the people of Africa and the Arab countries that, right now, enemies want to make sure that the Africans and Arabs follow the Policy of Camp David so that they have a chance to carry out this Policy everywhere in the African and Arab countries. To do so is of great value to imperialism, Zionism and those who oppose development.

Up with the fight of the People of Palestine, Namibia, and South Africa.

Up with the fight of Africans and Arabs for the sake of political and social freedom.

Down with the governments of the colonialists, the segregationists, and those who oppose development.

(Signed) Committee for the Carrying Out of the Great Meeting of Arabs and Africans

9216

CSO: 4749/37

## SINGLE-PARTY SYSTEM PRAISED

Nairobi MSETO in Swahili 6 Jun 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Single-Party Democracy"]

[Text] In recent days, there have been hectic campaigns by some politicians wanting to oppose the one-party system in this country.

The concern of these bitter [wenye siasa kali] politicians is that the single-party system covers up the desires of the citizens. These politicians contend that many parties make for "true" democracy.

This campaign to oppose the single-party system in the end was the reason the main committee of the ruling party KANU met under the leadership of the wise and honorable President Daniel arap Moi in the parliament building. Among the decisions made at that meeting, which was a complete success, is the step, enthusiastically supported by the citizens and the leaders, to remove from the KANU Party the likes of Oginga Odinga and George Anyona.

The KANU Party committee decided that the behavior of those driven out of the party was not in line with the aims and desires of the ruling party.

Many Western nations have failed to understand the importance of the one-party system in such African countries as Kenya. These nations are the ones that charge from time to time that the single-party system is like a dictatorship. These nations contend that the multiparty system makes for democratic compromises in the government.

The bitter politicians in this country have made these strong demands and warnings for the establishment of other parties in the country.

Before looking into the advantages and disadvantages of many parties, there are a few things that must be given great importance. In the first plan of those who fight for the establishment of another party or parties, they will tell you they want to do or finish whatever more than is being accomplished now by the ruling KANU Party.

It is evident that, as we said in our issue of 21 March 1982, this ruling party of the government has done a great deal of work to unite all the citizens in

government, in the economy and in society and made firm, hopeful foundations on which to grow.

The second thing that has to be noted is the importance of good government in countries which are flourishing. As we know, the political parties in flourishing countries should be as a line in front advancing development plans and sharing these plans with the citizens. This is just what is being done by the ruling KANU Party now. Our country is among the flourishing nations in the world. The things needed by flourishing countries are development movements for the use of every citizen instead of political arguments.

We believe that if there were many political parties in this country the aims of carrying out development plans will be made light of because politicians will use much of their time in political arguments. Without a doubt, this kind of thing was seen when this country had more than one party.

Again, it needs to be understood that, at that time (before independence), this country had reason to have several political parties. I mean we were fighting for independence. Now we are independent and we want to fight for development more in this country and also strengthen the faith and unity of the whole nation.

Those who think that a government with only one party cannot be democratic are very mistaken. The Boer Government in South Africa has several parties, but who in the world does not know of the disgraceful segregation of color in that country.

This example is sufficient to shut out any idea of wanting other parties in this country.

Every citizen knows that the Government of Kenya has a more democratic leadership than many governments in the world having many parties. In Kenya, we have a better way of getting the desires of the people to the government than using the service of opposition parties.

This plan begins in the councils of the villages and the districts where the councilors, who are chosen by the citizens themselves, meet and discuss all the important matters concerned with the development of the citizens. These councils make decisions and judge important matters without the intervention of the central government. Beyond that, we have a better system of judges to settle the disputes of the citizens.

Also, we cannot forget the tools of the newspapers which make the demands of the citizens heard by the government very deliberately. There are many workers parties with various clubs which are agents of the citizens' demands. With all of this, what need is there for many parties to carry out the development?

9216

CSO: 4749/37

## RETURN OF MONJA JAONA FROM CHINA REPORTED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 21 May 82 pp 1, 4

[Text] A Monja Jaona radiant with health received journalists yesterday in the VIP room at Ivato international airport upon his return from Paris and the People's Republic of China.

Welcoming banners ("Manalans azo avy roa batsimo lia raike") brightened the airport and "bekos" sang his praises. Activists and associates of the leader of MONIMA [National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar] Ka Miviombio had come to welcome him, and the police were barely able to restrain the crowd of several hundred thousand enthusiasts. MONIMA K.M. activists sang songs of national struggle as their leader arrived.

### A Congress

Monja Jaona, Supreme Revolutionary Councillor and dean of the CSR [Supreme Revolutionary Council], agreed to talk with the press, which turned out in large numbers, to say--among other things--that his trip was for reasons of health rather than politics; that he received satisfactory care from Chinese specialists; and that MONIMA will hold a congress soon this year. He also confirmed the "leak" of a letter classified as a "state secret" in which he commented on the "critical situation in Madagascar, especially in the north."

### A Trip For Health Reasons

Our colleague Latimer Rangers asked the first question among those of our colleagues of the private and especially the foreign press, who were pressing around Monja Jaona and asking him about his trip.

"I was ill," answered Monja Jaona, "and President Ratsiraka sent me to China for treatment. All the Chinese doctors have contributed so well to the recovery of my good health, with the aid of specialists, that I recovered very quickly.

I want to thank the president, who took this initiative. The Chinese interpreted this as a sign of confidence."

Reading a report about his trip, he explained his itinerary. He spent a week in Paris at the Embassy of Madagascar. His trip, which lasted a month and a

half, was for health reasons, not political reasons. On 7 April he left Paris for Peking, where he arrived on 9 April and spent 2 weeks. His reception there was satisfactory. During 10 days of visiting, he observed that the Chinese are really progressing toward socialism. Monja Jaona paid formal visits to Chinese leaders: to the vice president of the Chinese Communist Party, to the head of the department of foreign relations of the Chinese Communist Party, and to the deputy minister of health. Bilateral relations were discussed during these visits.

#### Chinese Mentality

Asked what he liked best about the Chinese mentality, Monja Jaona made the following remarks:

"The Chinese are real socialists. There are a billion of them, and not one wears tattered clothes; there are no beggars haunting the streets, and everyone has enough to eat. We calculate that the Chinese eat as much in 3 days as we would need for a year! They know how to be solidary and disciplined. They are hospitable and not bellicose. They bring their children up to love their country. All the Chinese are soldiers and patriotic peasants."

#### Elections, the North

Asked if presidential elections will be discussed at the next MONIMA congress, Monja Jaona replied that MONIMA will soon hold a congress in Toliars. This will be a "regular congress" and its dates will be made public later. All journalists are invited to attend, so they will not become the victims of hearsay. "I am a party man, and our position on the presidential elections will emerge from this congress."

As for events in the north, the leader of MONIMA answered: "This matter was the subject of a letter to the joint council of state. It was decided that the letter would be a "state secret," but it was made public by JEUNE AFRIQUE. "In this letter, I proposed a solution to this affair, but someone tried to stop its implementation. However, there are no problems without solutions."

Regarding his "Paris press conference," Monja Jaona answered that this was simply untrue: he did not hold a press conference in Paris; rather, journalists followed him everywhere. "In Madagascar, we don't wash our dirty linen in public," he said. "We do it at home."

One journalist mentioned a patriotic song sung at Monja Jaona's arrival which speaks of a "piteous Madagascar." MONIMA's leader replied that this was an old song, but in fact Madagascar is more and more to be pitied. MONIMA has submitted four books containing complaints and solutions to the government. The fourth even mentions the way the dehalo are being strangled. Monja Jaona stated that these are "organized thefts."

Summing up, the leader of MONIMA Ka Mibiombio, Supreme Councillor of the Revolution and dean of the CSR said he received a satisfactory reception and satisfactory care in the PRC and concluded the meeting by thanking "(his) journalist friends."

## FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SUCCESSION PREDICTION

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 12, 9 Jun 82 pp 5-8

[Article: "Malawi: The Waiting Game"]

[Text]

The standard question in Malawian affairs is what will happen when President **Kamuzu Banda** dies. During the past year, speculation on the matter in Malawi has become significantly more open, although more complex since some of those conventionally regarded as strong candidates for the presidential succession appear to be in increasingly ambivalent positions. Then apart from the long-term problem of feeding 6m people (the population growth rate is about 2.5%, 0.5% less than the average of its neighbours) from a small already productive land area, there are also two pressing economic-cum-political problems:—

- 1) The inability of the Mozambican ports of Nacala and Beira to handle Malawian exports and imports, and the inefficiency of Mozambican management of the railways.
- 2) Malawi's close relations with South Africa and the consequent difficulty of a) establishing workable relations with Mozambique and Zimbabwe and b) remaining aloof from the activities of the South African-backed *Mozambique National Resistance* (MNR) movement.

### The succession stakes

Past speculation on likely successors has proved notoriously inaccurate. In early 1977, it will be recalled, **Albert Muwalo Nqumayo**, then secretary-general of the ruling *Malawi Congress Party* (MCP), was convicted with Special Branch director, **Focus Martin Gwede**, of plotting to assassinate President Banda. Three years later **Aleke Banda**, the president's confidant and manager of *Press Holdings* (Malawi's largest private company, owned almost entirely by the president) who had assumed the mantle as the most likely presidential candidate, was dismissed and placed under house arrest. At the end of last year **Bakili Muluzi**, secretary-general of the MCP, was demoted to minister of transport and communications. Last month he retired from the post and is now out of political life altogether. Recently the chairmen of most parastatal

organisations have also been dismissed or shuffled.

The return to Malawi of **Orton Chirwa**, leader of the banned opposition *Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo)*, in controversial circumstances on Christmas eve last year, has now further complicated political equations. After leaving Malawi in 1964 he was based in Dar es Salaam. There are then a number of versions about events leading up to his return:—

1) Chirwa wrote to Banda saying that he wanted to return to Malawi to spend his last years in his native land. Banda was then successfully persuaded by European friends to reply to Chirwa in fairly conciliatory terms. After further correspondence, perhaps at times channelled through western diplomatic intermediaries, it was tacitly understood that Chirwa would be allowed back, discreetly and without fanfare. He then left Dar for Lusaka, where his wife, Vera lectured at the university. Shortly before Christmas he drove with his wife and son to Chipata and from there to the Mchinji border crossing, where he understood that he would be taken discreetly, on the strength of the "arrangements" he had made with Banda, to a safe house somewhere in Malawi.

2) Chirwa was determined to return to Malawi in almost any event. It was arranged with his *Mafremo* colleagues inside Malawi, possibly with some help from the *Zambian Special Branch*, that he would be secretly infiltrated into Malawi before triumphantly announcing himself in the hope that Malawians would rally to his support.

3) Chirwa and his family went to Chipata to reconnoitre a clandestine return to Malawi. Tipped off by *Zambians*, the *Malawian Special Branch* abducted him from Zambia.

What is fairly certain is that having spent several weeks in detention he was transferred with his family to a house, probably somewhere in the central region. According to close associates, the Chirwas were treated well in comfortable surroundings. In April there were unconfirmed but independent reports that he had been seen in his home town of Mzimba (Chirwa is a Tonga) in the northern region and that he had been taken with an official escort on a tour of Malawi. (One report referred to a Police Mobile Unit escort). If these reports are broadly true, Chirwa must have been pardoned by Banda.

There are a number of deductions and partially confirmed reports to support this thesis: a) it is unlikely that Chirwa would have taken his wife and son to Malawi unless he had been assured of safety once there — it is unconceivable that *Mafremo* could have smuggled him back without Malawian security soon finding out b) shortly after his arrest we understand that Banda called a cabinet meeting to discuss the episode. Unconfirmed reports say that **John Ngwiri**, who as secretary to the cabinet is closely involved with Special Branch affairs, received presidential rebuke for Chirwa's highly publicised arrest c) as a former minister of justice and attorney-general, Chirwa is one of the few Malawian politicians educated to a standard of Banda's liking d) it is not uncharacteristic of Banda to be magnanimous on rare occasions — the gist being that Banda would have the satisfaction of showing his former, long-exiled colleague how successfully Malawi had developed in his absence. And e) nor is it

uncharacteristic of Banda to confound those who see themselves as presidential successors.

It is conceivable that Banda has longer-term plans for Chirwa, a possibility that clearly irks some of Banda's close but insecure associates. Since opposition leaders are usually threatened with being shot on sight, reincarnating Chirwa could take several years. But a public rapprochement between Chirwa and Banda should not be discounted.

Together with Ngwiri, conventional analysis has for several years placed **John Tembo**, governor of the *Malawi Reserve Bank* since its establishment 11 years ago, in the forefront of the succession stakes. Widely believed to be most influential over the security services, he is also uncle to **Cecilia Kadzimira**, Banda's constant companion and assistant. Earlier this year **Tom Clausen**, president of the *World Bank*, is believed to have suggested during his visit to Malawi that Tembo should make way for a younger successor better trained in economics. (The governorship term is 10 years. So far Tembo does not appear to have been officially mandated to have another term). **Madinga**, executive director of the *Malawi Development Corporation* and former accountant-general, was mentioned as a possible governor. Unfortunately he was killed shortly after when his car collided with a police van.

Apart from the Tembo-Ngwiri-Kadzimira trio, whose fortunes may have been diminished by the Chirwa episode and his apparent rehabilitation, there are four cabinet members of rising acclaim: a) **Dick Matenje**, secretary-general of the MCP, who, together with b) **Louis Chimango**, minister of local government and former dean of the university school of law and public administration, is regarded as the best educated cabinet member c) **Aaron Gadama**, minister for the central region — a popular figure, in sharp contrast to his predecessor and d) **Edward Bwanali**, minister for the southern region, an equally popular figure, although regarded by some as too pleasant to be of presidential making.

By all accounts Banda is remarkably fit for his 82 (?) years. From his state house overlooking Blantyre he continues, with few lapses, to oversee in detail all important documents and propositions produced by the civil service and institutions. No major decisions are made by anybody else. In an immediate post-Banda period it is thus questionable whether the all-pervasive power vacuum could be filled smoothly. It would certainly require much power distribution — a process that could clearly be fraught with personal rivalry within the MCP machine, and between the MCP and parliament, which at present is a complete rubber-stamp body.

The overriding popular expectation of a thoroughly new regime would probably force Banda's successor to at least initially try to make parliament far more representative of what would

rapidly become a less tame electorate. But parliament is now so atrophied that it would be difficult to use it in the crucial year or so after Banda's death to assuage popular opinion. In March last year the constitution was amended to allow Banda to nominate as many MPs as he wants. According to the latest count, parliament now consists of 107 MPs of which 12 are cabinet ministers and 38 presidentially nominated MPs. Of the 32 women MPs, 24 are nominated. There are 15 vacant seats. Since all candidate MPs are subject to presidential vetting, the proportion of nominated MPs (including cabinet ministers) to theoretically independent MPs, is immaterial.

On the positive side, the security services and armed forces could be expected to stay largely aloof from all but the most serious post-Banda infighting. (The Special Branch is a possible exception because of its inherently political mandate). The army commander, Maj. Gen. **Melvin Maluda Khanga** (a Chewa, he was trained in Britain) runs a highly disciplined and efficient four-battalion force. Designed largely as a mobile counter-insurgency unit, it has such recent equipment as the Blow-pipe SAM. The police commissioner, **Mac Kamwana** (Chewa) too runs a fairly well disciplined body.

Also positive is the relative absence of tribal or religious antagonisms. The only significant tension is between Tumbuka people (usually Presbyterian) from the north and the populous Chewa people (usually Catholic) of the central region. The Tumbuka unquestionably hold a disproportionate number of senior civil service posts. Apart from Banda's broad policy of often distributing posts equally between tribal groups, irrespective of proportional representation, there are varied reasons for this "Tumbuka factor". (One analysis suggests that the Tumbuka tradition of aspiring husbands having to accumulate wealth before marriage gives Tumbuka males an important incentive to work hard). Conversely, in some key areas, such as security, Chewa appointments prevail. (Banda is generally regarded as Chewa, although it is possible that his parents were in fact Ngoni (a predatory tribe) and migrated south into Chewa territory). And Chichewa is now well established as the *lingua franca*.

Harder to assess is the extent of popular frustration with the regime. In the absence of significant food shortages<sup>1</sup>, unrest is directed at the overpowering mechanism of the MCP and the calvinistic rigour of Banda's strictly applied ideas, including his conviction that classical education (exemplified in the European-staffed and elitist Kamuzu Academy), despite its alienism from African cultural and educational tradition, is essential for the country's future. Certainly educated young Malawians (it is now hard for secondary school

leavers to get jobs) have become fairly open in criticism of the system. However, so far unemployment has not posed a serious problem. Rural-to-urban migration has started, but a policy of developing smaller rural towns and of giving productivity incentives to small farmers, promises to keep unemployment manageable.

The MCP is one of the most embracing parties in Africa. Operating through the usual system of local, area, district and regional committees, the MCP hopes to soon have the membership of 75% of the population. We understand that the present 50 tambala annual membership subscription is due to be increased to 150 tambala when the MCP holds its annual congress in the north later this year. Using the Malawi Young Pioneers<sup>2</sup> (who are often unemployed, poorly educated teenagers, some of whom are coopted as informers for the Special Branch, or as full-time employees) as its strong-arm, the MCP is wearing thin on the growing number of educated Malawians who can perceive it as Banda's personal system rather than as a national movement. The insecurity of some senior MCP officials lends a theatrical air. As the MCP rules and regulations specify, somewhat ominously in the section dealing with access to the life president: "members of the National Executive Committee are advised to be careful as to who they send or bring to the Life President".

If Banda dies in office (and it is unlikely that he will relinquish the presidency otherwise), the MCP constitution dictates that the secretary-general summons within three days an emergency meeting of the National Executive Committee, which then elects two of its members (providing they are in the cabinet) to serve with the secretary-general on a presidential commission. An MCP annual convention is then to be called as soon as possible to elect a new president.

To what extent those who have popular backing such as Gadama of the central region would prevail in the power vacuum over party potentates whose reputation was based on association with Banda, is not a totally open question. Popular expectation for change would probably preempt the chances of the latter category, which includes Tembo and Ngwiri. If the three-man presidential commission followed the constitutional procedure and was made up of cabinet ministers only, it could probably rule for some time without public criticism, especially if it was composed of Matenje, Gadama and either Chimango or Bwanali — all of whom are popular figures. (Gadama and Matenje are also respectively parliamentary chief whip and deputy chief whip).

It appears therefore that the key question is whether Banda's dictatorship continues long enough to fuel popular frustration to the point of instability *before* he dies. If there is a rudimentary but passive

network of opposition<sup>1</sup> members in the country, it is unlikely that it could organise anti-government demonstrations or strikes. As Banda has doubtless feared for several years, any threat to the last years of his rule would almost certainly come from within the cabinet, possibly by more than one individual.

Banda's difficulties on this score are in danger of being greatly increased by the failure of Mozambique to manage its railways and its two ports, Beira and Nacala, upon which Malawi depends almost entirely.

In July last year, Mozambique and Malawi established diplomatic relations. Although for several years Malawi Railways has had an office in Beira, in addition now to the Malawian diplomats in Maputo, practical relations with Mozambique appear to be minimal. Mozambique has not yet established its own diplomats in Lilongwe, and efforts by Malawi to negotiate rehabilitation of the railways and ports, with the help of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), have so far come to nothing other than a promise of **Canadian** finance for repairing the railway to Nacala.

At present we understand that there are over 1,500 Malawian containers at Nacala awaiting transport to Malawi. But at present the Mozambicans have only one fork-lift truck (two others appear to have been cannibalised) and one inoperable gantry (a new one is waiting there to be assembled). As a result it appears that not more than 15 containers can be moved per day. Whenever there is heavy rainfall the piles of containers sink into the mud, the railway floods and subsides and Malawi's container traffic comes to a complete standstill. At the beginning of this month the Mozambican minister of public works and housing, **Julio Carrillo** and the minister of ports and land transport, **Alcantara Santos**, went to Nacala to "familiarise themselves with the situation".

The problem is management, not finance or technicalities. In the short-term — and Malawi cannot wait long — the obvious solution is for Malawi Railways to negotiate a management contract for the Blantyre-Beira and the Liwonde-Nacala railways and at least the Nacala container terminal. But this suggestion immediately meets a political hurdle: the association between Malawi and South Africa in the context of the MNR. Mozambican authorities believe that MNR guerrillas have at times used bases in Malawi to receive weapons and supplies from South Africa, an allegation denied by Malawi. Banda obviously is not averse to the weakening by the MNR of his marxist neighbour. But with the MNR jeopardising Malawi's lifeline (apart from the bad effect it has on Mozambique-Malawi relations, it has both blown up the railway and reportedly fired on Malawian trucks travelling across Mozambique to the ports), he cannot now afford to encourage it in any way. The only alternative to the Mozambican transport route is the railway via Chipata in Zambia to South Africa, via Zimbabwe. It has limited capacity and is twice as expensive as the Mozambique

route. (In a forthcoming issue we will examine the MNR in detail).

The cost of Malawi's links with South Africa<sup>4</sup> set off against Malawi's dependence on its neighbours is finely balanced. During the last two years Banda has made an effort to persuade black southern Africa that the South African connection is economic pragmatism, not a political understanding. Below is a brief summary of Banda's strategy of personal diplomacy in the region:—

**Mozambique:** (see above). Working relations between Banda and **Samora Machel** are probably impossible and Malawi has no leverage to exert over Mozambique. If commercially viable oil is found in lake Malawi (there is oil but an estimate of volume and production cost is not yet available), Malawi's two islands — **Chizumulu** and **Chipyela** — off the eastern shore of lake Malawi, would more easily be subject to territorial dispute with Maputo. The islands' few inhabitants are anyhow Portuguese speaking.

**Tanzania:** Banda met **Julius Nyerere** for the first time in many years at the Commonwealth meeting in Melbourne last year. Oil discoveries in the northern half of lake Malawi would certainly spark off more serious dispute over Malawi's claim to all of that part of the lake.

**Zambia:** If **Kenneth Kaunda's** relations with Banda are still cool, they do have some mutual interests. a) Both are Chewa b) Kaunda's eldest son, **Panji**, visits Malawi fairly regularly. Panji, who spends his time running the Kaunda family farm at Cham-balakali in northern Zambia and his own haulage company, is believed by some to own a farm in Malawi through a nominee, and c) inter-dependency on maize is likely to be more important in the future. Until now Malawi has had the surplus. But if Zambian agricultural policy continues in the right direction (AC Vol 23 No 10), the tables may sometimes be turned.

**Zimbabwe:** During the Zimbabwean war, Banda backed **Abel Muzorewa**, and made no secret of his dislike of **Robert Mugabe**. Last year however Banda surprised many by going to the SADC meeting in Harare, where he met with Mugabe.

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#### Footnotes

1. Inconsistent rainfall after the last planting season will probably mean a total maize crop of about 1.6m tonnes, slightly lower than last year, despite the greater acreage planted. The completion of a South African-financed and constructed 180,000 tonne silo near Lilongwe will in future enable the storage of one season's marketed maize crop. The only recent food shortage to have caused widespread comment was cooking oil, most of which had been exported.

2. There are now an estimated 60 young pioneers in each of the 24 MPC administrative regions.

3. The four opposition movements are:—

The *Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo)*, formerly led by **Orton Chirwa**, now of uncertain leadership. Based in Tanzania. The *Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma)*, led by Dr. **Attati Mphakati**, based in Maputo. Last year it is believed that Lesoma cadres infiltrated the northern district of the central region. Various armed skirmishes took place.

The *Congress for the Second Republic*, led by former minister of education, **Kanyama Chiume**. Based in Tanzania.

The *Peoples Democratic Party*. Established by the late **Henry Chipembere**, it is now thought to be practically non-existent.

4. The only African state to have relations with South Africa, Malawi has received South African finance for a number of large projects, including the construction of the new capital of Lilongwe. South Africans working in Malawi are allowed considerable freedom, although the government was recently embarrassed we understand by an attempt by the South African managers of a sugar project in the north to impose local apartheid. It is believed that Malawi has a form of defence agreement with South Africa, which may be complemented by **Israel**, with which Malawi also has diplomatic relations. In a crisis of any kind South Africa can be expected to promptly assist, as witnessed in 1979 when South African Hercules C-130 aircraft flew in diesel in 50 gallon drums ●

## RURAL WATER PLAN GETS UNDP HELP

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 28 May 82 p 1

[Text]

**THE United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has contributed a sum of 611,000 US dollars towards the launching of communal water points project at Dowa Boma and Mponela to provide clean water around these areas.**

**The availability of funds from UNDP were communicated to members of the District Development Committee here at the Malawi Correspondence College at Mvela in Chief Chiwele's area.**

The Nominated Member of Parliament from Dowa, Mrs. Elizabeth Chowa, thanked the Government for its efforts to acquire the funds for the project geared at providing clean water to the rural people.

**WOULD COMPLY**

She assured the members, who included a senior official from the Department of Lands, Valuation and Water, who briefed the DDC on the project, that the community involved in the project would comply with the project's requirements, for its success.

The official said the Government had acquired the money from the UNDP in an effort to supply clean water to the rural population.

He said the initial work on the pilot project was expected to

start soon. He, however, told the committee that the success of the project depended on its involvement in the scheme.

**WATER TAPPING**

At the meeting, the official also disclosed the tapping of ground water in the integrated development project in Dowa West, which will start sometime in July. The idea of the water project will help settle farmers on virgin land, with clean water.

The DDC members approved a further negotiation for financial assistance from the International Development Agency (IDA) on Phase Three for a school block and a teacher's house each at Chigudu, Mvera, Kawere and Katalima primary schools.

They reviewed progress on the 17 aided projects launched in the district during the past five years, which used K53,389.05 from external donors and the Malawi Government.

They, however, emphasized the need for rural communities to comply with the desires of the donors to complete the projects within 18 months.

**NGWAZI THANKED**

Closing the meeting, the District Party Chairman, Mr. S.C. Chikolosa Phiri, thanked His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, for creating district development committees, whereby members shared ideas on how best they could improve their living standards.

## BRIEFS

WHEAT CROP URGED--MZIMBA, Thursday--SOILS in Mzimba District were rich to support the growing of wheat, which was in great demand in the country, the Northern Region Minister, Mr. Robson Chirwa, has said here. The Minister was speaking at Emchakachakeni, in Inkosi Mzikubola's Headquarters, in the district. He said most areas in Mzimba District have suitable soils and weather for the growing of wheat, tobacco, groundnuts and other cash crops. The Minister, therefore, called on the people to grow more wheat to make the country self-sufficient in all its food needs and wants. The Minister commended people at Echigodhleni and surrounding areas for embarking on more projects on a self-help. [Text] [Blantye DAILY TIMES in English 28 May 82 p 1]

CSO: 4700/1506

## MMM ELECTION VICTORY ANTICIPATED, FUTURE POLICIES VIEWED

Port Louis LE MAURITIEN in English 17 Jun 82 p 6

[Text] The road linking the airport to the capital city of Port Louis was jammed with thousands of spectators. As politicians with loudspeakers offered impassioned campaign promises, khaki-uniformed police quietly patrolled the crowds, separating fervid supporters of the various political parties. The final week of electioneering on the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius had all the tension of a neck-and-neck race. But if the national polls are even close to the mark, the results are not at all in doubt: the long-ruling, pro-Western Labour Party will be out and the youthful, left-wing Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) will be in.

The expected passing of the old guard is perhaps inevitable, but the new guard's agenda portends changes that have U.S. officials on edge. The MMM has pledged to "liberate" the atoll of Diego Garcia, the prime American naval base in the Indian Ocean. Demands to return Diego Garcia to Mauritius are unlikely to be backed with any military maneuvering along the lines of a Falklands-style takeover. But some Western observers fear the MMM may offer Moscow similar military facilities on Mauritius, a move that would add to the Russian presence in the Indian Ocean, where Madagascar and the Seychelles already welcome Soviet ships. MMM leader Paul Berenger dismisses such concerns. "We will close our seaports to the warships of all major military powers", he told Newsweek's Peter Younghusband. "We will fight democratically and diplomatically to re-establish our sovereignty over Diego Garcia".

Nonalignment: Berenger's leftist party has other changes in mind--and clearly Mauritius is ripe for change. Inflation runs at 23 percent. 50,000 people are jobless and almost one-fifth of the island's 950,000 residents are trying to emigrate. "From the day we take control", promises Berenger, "we will direct our efforts to check the island's crippling unemployment". Berenger's attacks on the Labour Party for "corruption, mismanagement and stagnation" have received a sympathetic hearing, as have his calls for a limited nationalization of the sugar industry--the backbone of the Mauritius economy. If elected, the party plans to introduce a socialist government along the line of French President Francois Mitterand's. As to foreign policy, Berenger insists: "We will be strickly nonaligned. Certainly Mauritius will be taken out of the Western sphere, but it will not be moved to the Eastern sphere".

An MMM victory in this week's elections will make the party's Indian president Aneerood Jugnauth the new Prime Minister. But Jugnauth is primarily a front man to secure the Indian vote the accounts for almost 70 percent of the mauritian electorate. The real muscle behind the MMM is its founder. Berenger, who undoubtedly will call the shots in the new government. A white Mauritian of French descent, Berenger learned his fiery brand of socialist politics in Paris. He was active in the student riots of 1968 and spent most of 1972 in a Mauritius jail for leading a strike of the island's port workers.

Berenger, 36, possesses more than a bit of that ingredient critical for political success in the twentieth century: charisma. A slight man given to wearing safari suits, Berenger sports a Walesa-style mustache and exudes a Kennedy brand of confidence. His strong political presence has had an impact on Mauritian politics for the past six years. In the last election in 1976, the MMM captured 40 percent of the popular vote and won 34 of the Legislative Assembly's 70 seats. The Labor Party barely held on to power by forming a coalition government with a political party backed by the wealthy, white sugar planters. But its leadership has hinted that it may not join the Labor Party in this go-round. And that almost certainly would mean that the Labor Party and its leader, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam the ailing 82-year-old Prime Minister who has run Mauritius for fourteen years--will lose.

As election day nears, Berenger has begun to moderate some of his more rigid positions--particularly his call to end close ties with South Africa. Mauritius is heavily dependent on South Africa for income from tourism and consumer trade. "There is no intention to nationalize South African interests at this stage", says Berenger. "We will, however, prevail on importers and tourists operators here to gradually replace South African trade and tourists with trade and tourists from other countries". Berenger continues to pledge that he will cancel Air Mauritius flights to South Africa. But he has backed away from pledges to cancel South Africa's landing rights on Mauritius--at least "for the time being".

Ripple Effect: That posture has a wait and see tone--but so do most question about the future of Mauritius. Western leaders are worried by reports that the MMM campaign has received a financial boost from Libya's Col. Muammar Kadhafi. (Berenger emphatically denies that he has received any Libyan aid). And despite Berenger's vow to pursue a nonaligned policy, Washington believes its base on Diego Garcia may propel Mauritius into the Soviet camp. Moreover, the tiny atoll could become a test case for other liberation efforts in the Indian Ocean. Mauritius also lays claim to the French island of Tromelin, the Comoros Republic claims the French island of Mayotte and Madagascar has staked a claim to four other French islands. Western interests are closely bound up in the fate of those islands situated in the Mozambique Channel--the oil route from the Mideastern gulf states to Europe. A minor disturbance over Diego Garcia could produce a ripple effect around the globe.

CSO: 4700/1526

GOWASEB INCIDENT TRIGGERS THREAT, SECRET MEETINGS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 23 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

**CONSIDERABLE**  
intrigue was added yesterday to the reports this week of the alleged abduction and manhandling of Advertiser reporter, Mr Karl Gowaseb.

Mr Gowaseb was allegedly abducted by Nature Conservation officials at the Okaukuejo guest camp in the Etosha Reserve, sworn at, assaulted and then dropped in the veld after having been accused of misconduct.

The matter is presently being handed over to the Police to handle.

Yesterday morning the Editor of the Advertiser, Mr Leon Kok, received an anonymous call warning him that if he encouraged "kaffirs to visit Etosha", he would be the next victim.

Shortly after he received yet another strange call from a person who refused to be named, but requesting that Mr Kok go to a city hotel where he would hear certain "things" about the entire incident. He was given 10 minutes to get there.

The person also requested that Mr Kok bring a camera and R50.

Mr Kok went to the hotel concerned, waited at the reception and then was quietly called across the room. Mr Kok was accom-

panied by The Advertiser photographer, Mr Dirk Heinrich.

Mr Heinrich recognised the person concerned as a government official; the two had met on a previous occasion.

After pleasantries had been exchanged by this person and Mr Heinrich, this person demanded that a photograph be taken of himself and Mr Kok together.

He then talked in circles, as Mr Kok described it, and Mr Kok asked Mr Heinrich to leave.

The person then immediately got on to the subject of the alleged abduction, manhandling and assault of Mr Gowaseb and gave a limited amount of information, claiming that he had intimate knowledge of it.

**FULL REPORT**

He then insisted that he could say no more, but if Mr Kok got him a hotel room, he would go upstairs and write a full report which would be complete and handed to Mr Kok at 7.30 last night.

He said he would also include details of widespread corruption in the White Administration.

Mr Kok, though reluctant to meet this strange request but nevertheless keen to acquire further information on the Etosha incident, agreed. He also informed

the hotel management of the situation.

Mr Kok spoke to this person telephonically yesterday afternoon and was told that the report was "going well". He was also told that another gentlemen would also be at the hotel at 7.30 to see him.

Mr Kok went to the hotel last night, accompanied by John Meinert MD, Mr Peter Meinert, but this person was not there. He had apparently booked out. The matter was left at that.

Another person also visited The Advertiser yesterday and told Mr Kok that he witnessed much of the happenings at the camp, that the Advertiser report on Monday was essentially correct and that he would be willing to act as a witness if legal recourse is resorted to.

Late yesterday Mr Kok received yet another anonymous telephone call, except that the person said he was a journalist and he was also on the Sigma trip. Mr Gowaseb was allegedly abducted, manhandled and assaulted in Etosha while officially covering the launching of one of Sigma's new vehicles.

#### NEUTRAL

The person said he was neutral and wanted to give a fair account of what happened.

He alleged that problems started at a Sigma function in Windhoek before the journalists left for Etosha.

He alleged that Mr Gowaseb behaved himself well but invited a friend who had too much to drink and got "completely out of hand". This person was not a guest of Sigma's and his presence apparently upset the Sigma management. The behaviour of this person furthermore apparently created an atmosphere that had a strong bearing on the events that were to follow.

This person furthermore alleged that on the night of the abduction and man handling of Mr Gowaseb, Mr Gowaseb had had too much to drink, but conceded that the alleged actions of the Conservation Department officials were uncalled for.

On the other hand, he said, Mr Gowaseb was not left in the open, but taken to a nearby Army camp "where he was left to sleep in a tent and to dry out."

Mr Gowaseb was taken back to Okaukuejo at 7 the next morning.

Mr Gowaseb this morning vehemently denied these charges and stands by his original story.

CSO: 4700/1545

# DTA ASKS GOVERNMENT TO SET JA TOIVO FREE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Jul 82 p 8

[Text]

**WINDHOEK.** — The ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance of South West Africa-Namibia is going to ask the South African Government again to free Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, a founder member of Swapo who is imprisoned on Robben Island.

The vice-president of the DTA, Dr Ben Africa, confirmed yesterday the DTA would be making such a request in the near future.

The general secretary of the DTA, Mr Johan de Waal, said there had been several requests to free Ja Toivo in the past.

He said the feeling of the DTA was that certain people had made stronger statements lately than those for which Ja Toivo and Gerson Veli — who has since been released — were convicted.

It is not known if the South African Government made any official reaction in the past about the DTA's re-

quests to free Ja Toivo.

Mr John Viall, Chief Director of the Administrator General's office, said yesterday it was stipulated in Resolution 435 that when an agreement had been reached in South West Africa, within six weeks of the implementation date so-called political prisoners must be released.

He added that if an agreement could be reached in South West Africa an arrangement would have to be made so that people like Ja Toivo and prisoners being held by Swapo in prisons in Angola and Zambia could be released to participate in the election.

Mr Viall said that at this stage there had been no indication that the five Western countries would send their representatives to Windhoek to see the internal parties.

The chances of an agreement being reached depended on the reaction of Swapo, the

front-line states and Nigeria after the Western powers had completed their discussions, he said.

The discussions begin today in Washington, where a South African delegation was consulted last week.

In Windhoek, newspapers are speculating over what will happen if an agreement is reached and the election date is set for March next year.

A March date will mean that the election machine will have to start moving into action in August.

The Republican, mouthpiece of the DTA, reported recently that the Windhoek Show would not be able to take place as the United Nations would need the Showgrounds.

Another report said the Berg Hotel, transformed into offices for the Administrator-General, who has since moved to South West House, would be the UNO's headquarters during an election.

CSO: 4700/1545

# CAPRIVI LAKE COULD SUPPLY WINDHOEK WITH WATER

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 2 Jul 82 p 6

[Article by Franz Krueger: "Caprivi: Water Affairs' Glorious Freak"]

[Text]

A virtually unknown lake, a river that can flow both ways and a weed that may infest the future water supply of the rest of Namibia: these are some of the fascinating things Water Affairs officials deal with daily in the Caprivi.

The Caprivi strip is a historical freak which reaches right across the sub-continent to touch not only Zambia and Botswana, but Zimbabwe, too. Over 1 200 kms separate Katima Mulilo from Windhoek, and its connections with the Namibian capital are tenuous.

Telephone calls from Windhoek are routed via Pretoria. Windhoek beer is unobtainable and the local marked as a marsh. The region experienced a severe drought during the late forties, during which the marsh was burnt by the local population.

"Slash and burn agriculture" which is still much used in the region, involves burning the vegetation of a tract of land before planting. Not only is it a simple method of clearing the land, but the burning also puts a lot of

nutrients into the soil, ensuring a good crop.

However, it is a highly wasteful method; after the nutrients introduced artificially into a burnt piece of ground have been exhausted, it takes a long time for the ground to recover.

The drought provided a good opportunity to use land otherwise not accessible, since it was too wet, and so large parts of the marsh were burnt, and crops planted there.

The drought ended when particularly heavy rains fell in the early and mid fifties. The typically marshy topography of the area had in the meantime been changed by the burning, however, and so the lake was formed in place of the marsh.

Scientists are not sure why the lake then remained, and did not disappear again. Some believe earth movements caused barriers to develop, which prevented the water from White school falls under the Transvaal Dept of Education.

But it is the plentiful supply of water, before all else, which makes the region strange and foreign to parched Namibians. And the sight of Lake Liambezi,

stretching clear to the horizon seems like a fata morgana to Namibians whose concept of water is limited to taps, boreholes, rivers that flow once in a blue moon and brief, glorious showers in the so-called rainy season.

Lake Liambezi is 100 square km in extent, with a further 200 square km of marsh adding to the water surface. It lies along the southern border of the eastern Caprivi with Botswana. It cannot be found on any but the newest of maps, since it has only existed since 1958.

On older maps, the area now covered by the lake is running off. Others believe reeds washed away by the sudden rush of water formed barriers, which silted up and gradually turned into permanent barriers.

Whatever the reason, the lake remained. In the early stages, it still had a very unbalanced ecology. The nutrients introduced into the soil by the burning process made the water very rich, and led to a proliferation of weeds.

In time, however, the ecosystem stabilised, and is now almost identical to

that of other shallow African lakes. Lake Liambezi is only one part of the Chobe river system, which takes on four different names before it joins the Zambesi.

Coming from Angola, it is called the Kwando, and forms the border between the eastern and the western Caprivi. At a point where it takes a sharp turn to the north east, it becomes the Linyandi, and then flows into Lake Liambezi. At the other end, it emerges as the Chobe, which then flows into the mighty Zambesi.

It is the Chobe which can flow in both directions. The gradient of the river is very slight, while the water level in the Zambesi can change dramatically from season to season.

In some seasons the level of the Zambesi can rise to as much as 10m, which is much higher than the Chobe's gradient. In other words, the level of water in the Zambesi is higher than the highest point of the Chobe, where it leaves Lake Liambezi.

This means the pressure of water from the Zambesi is large enough to overcome the slight gradient of the Chobe, and water is pushed back into that river. When this happens, the Chobe simply turns around and flows back into the

lake.

The whole river system is linked to Lake Kariba through the Zambesi, and it is this route that Kariba weed, or *Salvinia Molesta*, took to infest the Chobe river system.

If steps are not taken to stop the further spread of the weed, it may reach the Kavango system, threatening the Okavango swamps and causing major problems for the planned water provision project for central Namibia.

Long term planning by the Dept of Water Affairs sees water from the Kavango reaching Windhoek via a canal which will take water into the Omatako dam, from there into the Von Bach dam and into Windhoek's water supply.

The canal linking Groot-fontein with the Omatako dam is already being constructed. The weed could foul up pumps and cause blockages if it reached the projected canal.

Although the Kavango and Kwando/Chobe river systems are separate, there is a spillway which links the two in particularly rainy seasons. This is the cylinder spillway, which carries excess flood water from the Kwando river into the top of the Okavango swamp.

# FURTHER REPORTAGE ON ELECTION PREPARATIONS

## Registration of More Parties

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 29 May 82 p 1

[Article by Omafume Amurun]

[Text]

**THE Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) may register more political parties before '83 elections.**

Sources close to FEDECO told the New Nigerian in Lagos, yesterday that the commission still stood by an earlier statement by its chairman, Justice Ovie-Whiskey that registration of associations was a continuous exercise.

The New Nigerian learnt also that the unrecognised parties need not file in new registration papers since their earlier papers were still valid.

It was gathered that FEDECO would soon inform the unrecognised parties why their applications were rejected and they would be considered again if they amended their shortcomings.

When I contacted FEDECO's Information Secretary, Mr Adewale, he remarked that all applications would be reconsidered on merit but he could not

say when this would be done.

Last Tuesday, Fedeco recognised the Nigerian Advance Party (NAP) led by a Lagos lawyer Mr. Tunji Braithwaite out of seven associations which applied for registration. The most obvious casualty was the People's Progressive Party (PPP).

Reacting to the non-recognition of the PPP on Tuesday, the associations' National Director of Organisation Mr. H. Olatilowa warned that if after all efforts FEDECO refused to register PPP, the party would consider instituting a legal action against the commission.

However, at a press conference on Wednesday, PPP's interim National Chairman Dr. Basil Ukegbu announced that they had resolved to use one of the two options it has kept in reserve in order to get FEDECO's registration.

This involves asking the three sponsoring parties the NPP, GNPP, and Imoudu faction of PRP to resolve at a national congress to change their names, constitutions and symbols to that of the PPP, he said.

## Non-Registration of PPP, Violence

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 29 May 82 p 3

[Article by M. A. Aliyu Biu]

[Text]

OFFICIAL circles in Plateau State were thrown into confusion following the non-registration of the Progressive People's Party (PPP) by FEDECO.

Reacting to the issue, the Special Adviser on Information to the Plateau Governor, Mr. Peter Madaki, vowed that they may take FEDECO to court because according to him it had no reason whatsoever for the non-registration of the PPP.

Mr. Madaki said that FEDECO's action spelt doom for the country, adding that as far as they were concerned if PPP is not registered, there would be no NPN.

The special adviser said that despite the fact that FEDECO was under the control of NPN Federal Government, there was a limit to which it could toss people around and deprive them the right of freedom of association as guaranteed in the constitution.

In his reaction, the NPN leader in the Plateau State House of Assembly, Alhaji Zakari Yakubu, said he welcomed the news.

Alhaji Zakari Yakubu said that

the PPP does not exist in the southern part of the country and added that it was primarily established to further disintegrate the north by using politics of minority, ethnicity and religion at a time when the north was becoming more consolidated.

Alhaji Zakari Yakubu said now that the PPP was not registered, the NPN should surrender its party registration certificate and declare for the NPN.

In another development, the Assistant Secretary of the NPN in Plateau State, Alhaji Sale Kanam said that as a result of the non-registration of PPP, some NPN supporters and their thugs were terrorising local traders in Jos and beating up some NPN supporters at Keana, including one of the NPN gubernatorial aspirant, Alhaji Shehu Uthman.

Alhaji Sale Kanam said that information reaching the state secretariat of the party showed that the NPN thugs were located at strategic areas to deal with some selected NPN officials and supporters.

## Transport Minister Supports Shagari

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 3 Jun 82 p 3

[Excerpt]

MINISTER of Transport, Dr. Umaru Dikko, said in Lagos on Tuesday that he saw no reason why President Shehu Shagari should not be given another chance to serve the people of this country.

The minister, who was answering questions from newsmen shortly after launching a pamphlet on a new national shipping policy described President Shagari as a man of the people, "who is prepared to serve his people faithfully and diligently."

Dr. Dikko said that Nigeria was not in need of a "Naira president" because "the Nigerian electorate could not be bought over with money."

## Yoruba NPN Leaders

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 3 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

PRESIDENT Shehu Shagari is not likely to face any opposition from the Yoruba leaders in the NPN if and when he files his renomination papers.

This is because the NPN leaders from the Yoruba speaking areas have resolved not to put up any candidate against the President.

Investigations conducted by the New Nigerian revealed that the Yoruba leaders met at a house in Apapa last week to decide on the issue.

At the meeting, were representatives from all the senatorial districts in the Yoruba speaking areas and those in the party's hierarchy in the areas.

The New Nigerian source also revealed that although all those present at the meeting agreed that President Shagari should be

allowed to run for a second term without hinderance, the leaders wanted an assurance that the Yorubas would not remain in the cold, come 1987.

As a result of the meeting, one of the presidential aspirants from the area was instructed to phone the President on the spot to intimate him with the decision not to file any candidate from the Yoruba speaking areas against him, which the person concerned did at once.

Our source did not however state the President's reply to the telephone call.

Efforts to contact those present at the meeting failed but a top member of the party confirmed that the meeting was held.

He however declined to give details of what transpired at the meeting.

## PPP Official's Statements Scored

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 5 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

KADUNA State Directorate of Nigerian Advance Party (NAP) has condemned the utterances of the Kaduna State PPP Director of Research and Publicity, Mr. C.S. Ayashim.

This was in reaction to the recent statement credited to Mr. Ayashim in which he claimed that NAP was registered to split UPN in the five states controlled by it in favour of the NPN.

NAP also denied Mr. Ayashim's claim that it had no office in Kaduna State and some other states in the country, but yet it was registered and this Mr. Ayashim said was contrary to the provisions of the electoral law.

In a statement, Alhaji Ibrahim Yakubu of Kaduna branch of NAP urged Mr. Ayashim to

direct his attention on nursing wounds sustained by his party as a result of its non-registration by FEDECO.

Alhaji Ibrahim Yakubu further urged "all well-meaning citizens to reject completely the so-called People's Progressive Party" and, "the meaningless Progressive People's Alliance", which, according to him lack substance, aims and objectives "except to destabilize the existing unity and peace of this nation".

He then called on the general public to come out en-masse and support NAP for the interest of peace and stability.

Alhaji Ibrahim Yakubu praised President Shehu Shagari for his effort to revamp the nation's economy.

## UPN Expels Legislator

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 7 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

**A MEMBER of the Oyo State House of Assembly, Mr. R. Adebayo Shittu has been expelled from the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) by the Ifedapo Constituency of the party.**

This was contained in a release issued and signed by 16 executive members of the Ifedapo Constituency of the party in Ibadan.

According to the release, the expulsion of Mr. Shittu from the party was recommended to the local government and state bodies of the party for further actions.

According to the party, the expulsion of Mr. Shittu was sequel to several allegations he levelled against top members of the party.

Mr. Shittu was accused of alleged high disrespect to the party in the constituency and for attending meetings not approved by it.

He was also accused of unco-operative activities with the constituency, lack of consultations and disregard to pieces of

advice.

Mr. Shittu was alleged by the party to be advocating some doctrine views and opinions contrary to laid down policies of the UPN.

In another development, Alhaji Adebayo Shittu, has said in Ilorin that he exposed the "corrupt leaders" of the UPN in the executive and legislative arrays of the state government to rid the party of bad eggs.

Speaking on an NTA Ilorin programme, "Central Figure", Alhaji Shittu said that "it is high time we erased the belief that politics is an avenue for enriching one's purse".

He said that it was the responsibility of the youths to bring a radical change into the Nigerian body politics, adding that the conventional system of old politicians had failed to bring the required change into the structural set-up of the nation.

Alhaji Shittu then said that he could not be removed from the UPN because he had not breached any provision of the party's constitution.

CSO: 4700/1508

# FINANCE COMMISSION CHAIRMAN ON BUDGET

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] During the National Assembly's discussion yesterday of the 1982-1983 draft budget, Deputy Hamet Diop, chairman of the finance and economic affairs committee, proposed a progressive increase of 2 percent in the salaries of public service officials beginning 1 July. He said in his report that the draft budget "comes at the middle stage of the period of the medium-term plan for economic and financial recovery." Its revenue and expenditure are estimated at Fr 230,207,750,000, or an increase of 9 percent over the corrective budget voted for the current period, which was aimed at "reducing the deficit in budget operations and in the special treasury accounts." Hamet Diop believes that "1982 will be a year of economic recovery with more favorable conditions of internal supply and demand than in 1981." This judgment is based on favorable rainfall and a well-prepared agricultural campaign with encouraging results: 878,000 tons of peanuts, 41,000 tons of cotton, and 736,000 tons of millet and sorghum. Total value of agricultural output is estimated at 118 billion, compared to 67.8 billion in 1981. However, Dr Diop warned that "the international market remains gloomy." He explained that 600,000 tons of shell peanuts would certainly be delivered to the oil plant but "because of the fall in world prices for this product, that tonnage is only equivalent to 300,000 tons sold and delivered to the plant in 1981."

Hamet Diop revealed, in respect to internal consumption, that the controlled production of peanuts had made it possible to inject some 42 billion into the rural economy, compared to only 9 billion in 1981.

Discussing the draft operating budget, Mr Diop said it was "based entirely on ordinary revenues, without recourse to new taxes, or, for the present increases in taxes." However, he explained that certain duties and taxes have been included in the budget which were previously paid into special treasury accounts. These include the road fund, the housing improvement fund, and the fund to equip local communities. These three accounts will be funded through special grants.

## New Measures

As for new measures, they include: for personnel, recruitment of officials for newly created functions, an increase in the number of deputies for the

next legislative session, and a raise in civil service salaries. To these we must add: organization of the coming elections, higher education, the Senegambian Confederation, creation of jobs for youth, the fifth FIDAK [International Fair of Dakar], etc.

Mr Diop said also that 29 billion will be needed to consolidate the external debt, and 10 billion additional will be used to cancel the liability of the former ONCAD [National Office of Cooperation and Assistance for Development]. Deputy Diop said: "We will seek foreign loans to assure financing of the second phase of the sixth annual plan." For this reason, and to meet a number of other requirements, the draft budget proposes empowering the head of state to contract loans up to a total of 116 billion.

The committee chairman affirmed his optimism about the upcoming budget year: "It will mark a decisive turning point on the internal front."

9920

CSO: 4719/1081

# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES DRAFT BUDGET

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] At the budget session of the National Assembly, Christian Valantin, reporter for the finance and economic affairs committee, made some general remarks on the draft budget, following the report by Hameth Diop. Mr Valantin analyzed the international and national context in which the economy had developed during the preceding budget year.

In regard to developments abroad, he referred to the negative effects of the rise in the dollar value, the devaluation of the French franc, American policy in interest rates, and the recession in the OECD countries.

Internally, the bad agricultural year of 1980-1981 and the estimated 5.7 percent decline in the construction and public works sector contributed to worsening the situation.

The trade balance showed a deficit of 136.5 billion in 1981. To deal with this development, the government continued its effort to rectify the economic and financial situation and undertook to correct the important balances through a plan for economic and financial recovery. The rectification involved settlement of the government's outstanding payments and refinancing of the public debt, while for the foreign debt a rescheduling was arranged with the Paris Club. A national effort was also made to progressively reduce prices of certain basic commodities. At the same time, rural incomes were increased.

The draft budget totals Fr 230,207,750,000 compared to Fr 211,412,199,000 for the previous period, for an increase of 9 percent. The operating budget is Fr 51,373,750,000. In regard to revenues, no new taxes or tax increases are planned. Discussing expenditures, the reporter pointed out that for this realistic budget the operating budget had been adjusted to take into account students leaving training schools, ministerial department needs which had been underestimated in previous years, and higher government contributions to international organizations.

The proposed investment budget is Fr 23 billion.

9920

CSO: 4719/1081

## SAUDI FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 3 Jun 82 p 5

[Excerpts] The president of the republic's tour of Arab countries has already begun to bear fruit. Saudi Arabia has announced that it will participate, to the extent of 26,237,000,000 Fr CFA, in national development projects in Senegal. That country has also decided to help finance OMVS regional projects with a total of \$150 million, of which 23,780,000,000 Fr CFA will go to Senegal.

The overall total of Saudi aid to finance development projects in Senegal will be 50,017,000,000 Fr CFA.

This extensive aid was presaged by the warm welcome by the Saudi government and people to the president of the Senegal Republic during his official visit from 7 to 9 March 1982.

Senegal and Saudi Arabia follow a policy of cooperation which is reflected in their identity of views on major current problems, and in this they are a pioneer model in African-Arab cooperation.

The Saudi Development Fund, which handles development aid granted by Saudi Arabia, offers particularly favorable conditions for loans: low interest rates (usually 3 percent), 20 years' average repayment period with a 5-year grace period, and many features which make them particularly suitable to the needs of developing countries.

In addition to the Diama and Manantali dams, regional projects, and the Anambe basin hydro-agricultural development project in which the Saudi Development Fund has been involved for several years, Saudi Arabia is going to finance a variety of projects in Senegal.

These include: an urgent water project, the Ourosogui-Bakel road, the Kedougou-Saraya road, the Dialokoto-Kedougou road, the canal and shore road in Dakar, the project of the Company for Development and Exploitation of the Delta Land and the Senegal Valley (SAED), the project of the Company for Development of Fiber Textiles (SODEFITEX), and the Sacre Coeur II program for housing construction.

The fact that almost all the projects proposed for Saudi financing during the president's visit to Saudi Arabia were accepted promptly however, without sacrifice of financial thoroughness--is also worth noting as an obvious sign of the vitality of Arab-African cooperation.

BRIEFS

MUSLIM FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION'S PRESIDENT--(APS). Prince Muhammad al-Faysal Al Sa'ud, president of the vigilance council of Dar al-Mal al-Islami, arrived in Dakar yesterday in early afternoon. The prince was received at Dakar-Yoff airport by Minister of Economy and Finance Ousmane Seck, the Saudi ambassador, the president's personal counsellor, Moustapha Cisse, and several heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Dakar. The president of Dar al-Mal al-Islami will be paying a 3-day official visit to Senegal at the head of an important delegation composed of members of the vigilance committee and the staff. In a statement to the press, Prince Faysal recalled that this was his second visit to Senegal. He said that it would enable him to discuss economic and financial issues with Senegalese officials. He added: These are "contacts among brothers" with the purpose of establishing close relations between Senegal and his organization. The organization's international administrative headquarters is in Geneva. Its purpose is to carry out financial operations in accordance with the provisions of the Islamic Shari'a. [Excerpt] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 2 Jun 82 p 6] 9920

CSO: 4719/1081

POST-MORTEM REVEALS STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES OF ELECTIONS

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 30 Jun 82 pp 1, 7

[Editorial: "Elections Post-Mortem"]

[Text] WHEN all is said and done with the Elections and Bye-Elections now over (barring the Koinadugu North Constituency) there are points that should be seriously advanced for the positive working of the current system of elections.

DESPITE fears loudly expressed in some quarters and quietly whispered in some others as to whether the elections would produce something under the procedures used, the results help to speak out an answer.

ABOUT a quarter of members of the last Parliament lost their Seats which, as far as journalists and observers are concerned, is big news.

THE fact that any incumbent can be unseated (and even lose his deposit as happened in some cases) indicates how much is possible under the system employed.

CONSIDERING the examples of some other countries where every incumbent is seen to get back with eye-brow raising cosiness, the Sierra Leone Elections '82 need to be analytically studied for its more positive features.

THE atmosphere in which the campaigning went on is another aspect for reflection.

THE elections fever passed the boiling point on many occasions and spilled out, burning up numbers in its way.

THE serious irregularities that resulted would have been more of a scorchingly sore point if the Electoral Commission had not stepped in to cancel everything in those constituencies involved.

HERE again, the experiment was going through the inevitable stages:--tempers were raised, noses flared, fists waved in and.....

AS we have consistently stressed in this column, much of the irregularities would definitely have been avoided if security arrangements had been up to expected levels.

IN future the authority of the police should not only be known of but should be clearly felt at all points.

NO one whatsoever should be given leeway to act above what we all accept as the legitimate law.

THAT was what caused a good deal of the trouble in affected areas:

INFLUENTIAL persons simply took upon themselves the role of Kingmaker, muscled in to voting stations and terrorised everyone in sight in an attempt to ensure that their candidates made it

SUCH situations got to the point they did in the first place only because the police security was not adequate enough and because some security personnel lamely accepted that these were "big" men.

THE Bye-Elections in those constituencies were certainly better conducted, which indicates that we are prepared to swallow our bitter pill and learn from experience.

UNQUESTIONABLY, campaigners throughout the entire Elections period freely vented out their feelings--to the point that the most private and unspeakable events of many a candidate personal life came up for public knowledge while songs that could not be considered as palatables at dinning tables of a good number of contestants continually rent the air.

WHAT is important to note is that the most democratic system anywhere could become the most oppressive depending on how it is run just as seemingly bigotic systems can be seen to work in a peoples interest depending on who and who wields power.

The MEAN between extremes lies primarily in the adequacy of checks and balances in the particular arrangements (Electoral or otherwise) in focus.

SIERRA Leone will do well by sapping the best from such truisms.

CSO: 4700/1530

CONTEH WILLING TO BE OAU SECRETARY GENERAL IF ASKED

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 25 Jun 82 pp 3-4

[Text] The international respect and prestige of any country however big or small is in most cases determined by the country's Foreign Minister or Minister of External Affairs.

This is why these days Heads of state and governments engage in indepth personality-search to get highly respectable and dignified individuals to assume the post of foreign Minister who in political jargons are nicknamed "the international walking sticks of the Heads of State."

In almost all African countries and indeed all developing or third world states, most of our Foreign Ministers are young people who must have acquired a wealth of academic training abroad.

There are many reasons for this; the chief being that most times at international conferences, the Foreign Ministers represent their Heads of State.

You will agree that in such circumstances, the Foreign Minister should not only show political maturity, but he should command the respect which his home country demands in the international scene.

Awards

History in fact will place on record that since independence, Sierra Leone underwent the most crucial test of international political maturity between 1979-1982.

This period includes Sierra Leone's hosting the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS to name just two.

Suffice it to mention that between this period, Sierra Leone's foreign Minister, Dr. Abdulai Osman Conteh, excelled himself admirably.

Indeed if anything praiseworthy should be attributed to the Foreign Minister, it is but fit and proper to firstly say well done to no less a person than President Siaka Stevens, the man who exposed the hitherto unknown Dr. Conteh to international light

In our "MEET YOUR MINISTERS" series today, I introduce to you for the first time in these columns Dr. Abdulai Osman Conteh.

Born on August 5, 1945 at Pepel, northern Province, Dr. Abdulai Conteh is the youngest person to be appointed Foreign Minister in this country's history.

The appointment followed his nomination as unopposed representative for Kam-bia West constituency, for the 1977 General Elections.

He was also returned unopposed for the same constituency in the General Elections in April 1982 and reappointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Conteh was educated at the Sierra Leone Muslim Association, AME Boys High School and the Albert Academy. He entered King's College London University in 1966 and obtained the Bachelor of Law degree with honours in 1969.

Post graduate studies took him to Lincoln's Inn, where he obtained the Barrister at Laws in 1970; London University from where he graduated Master of Law in 1971, and King's College, Cambridge where he read for and obtained the Ph.D in 1974.

Dr. Conteh returned to Freetown in 1974, and was appointed State Counsel at the Law Officers' Department.

From 1975-77, he was a teaching fellow at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, during which time he was also engaged in private practice.

Dr. Conteh has had several awards including National Scholar 1965; Commonwealth Scholar 1966-69; Harold Porter Prize for Land Law, King's College, London University 1969.

Cambridge University Athletics Blue 1970; and United Nations Fellowship in international Law, 1976.

He was awarded the order of the 'Ngwa Ngwa' by the Republic of Korea in May, 1978.

In November 1979, he was decorated with the award of Commander of the National Order of the Peoples Revolutionary Republic of Guinea by President Sekou Toure.

In recognition of his outstanding contribution to the state and in particular for his work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Conteh was awarded the Officer of the Order of the Republic of Sierra Leone (ORSL), Sierra Leone's Premier award in the New Year's Honour's list, announced by President Siaka Stevens.

Dr. Conteh presided over the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1978 as one of the Vice Chairmen for the Thirty Third Session of the General Assembly and in 1980/81 was Chairman of the OAU Council of Ministers.

Excerpts of the interview follow:-

Question: It is said that this country is more widely known in the international scene since you assumed the post of Foreign Minister some five years ago. What do you think is responsible?

Answer: I would not know how correct that statement is, but if it is so, I can only ascribe to a fortuitious combination of circumstances.

Principally in the course of the last five years, Sierra Leone has been a little more active both in the sub-regional and regional organisation.

Namibia

For example, President Stevens became Chairman of the OAU and Sierra Leone as Chairman country played a remarkably effective role in intermediating in African Affairs.

In this period also, Sierra Leone played host to ECOWAS and President Stevens as Chairman of the ECOWAS played an important role in the sub-regional grouping.

All these afforded us--President Stevens, his Ministers and Sierra Leonean Diplomats--to act as the focal point and spokesman at one point or the other for Africa at the global level.

Policy

Naturally the consequence of these events is to draw some diplomatic attention to Sierra Leone as a country.

Question: The African continent has been likened to a human body which feels the pain when one part is affected or injured.

When you take the Namibian issue into consideration what hopes do you think Africans should have for the eventual independence of that country?

Answer: As you correctly say, African states agonise over the question of Namibian independence.

Everyday that passes without this being achieved goes down as an affront to every African.

My hope and belief is that one day Namibia shall be free however long the process.

What we want to avoid is blood shed to achieve this objective.

But the intransigence of the Pretoria regime and the vacillation of the group of Five Western countries which have gratuitously taken the mantle of honest programme for Namibian independence do not altogether conduce confidence to achieving independence by peaceful means for Namibia.

Question: The situation in the Western Sahara still continues to be a hard nut to crack.

With the OAU summit in Libya round the corner, do you think a peaceful settlement is foreseeable in the short run?

Answer: Perhaps not in the short run in the Western Sahara itself.

We hope at the summit in Libya, the seeming split within the OAU would have been settled.

But more importantly we hope the OAU will face the problem four squares.

It is not an easy problem, Alhaji Kabba.

It requires the goodwill of all the parties concerned in consonance with the people's right to self determination.

Question: There is an opinion in political circles not only in Sierra Leone but throughout the continent, that this country is putting you up as a candidate for the post of OAU Secretary General.

Could you confirm this?

Answer: In consultation with President Stevens' colleagues--African Heads of State and governments, it is contemplated to proffer my candidature for the post of Secretary General of the OAU.

I am prepared to serve in whatever capacity the government and the people deem necessary, whether at the domestic or international levels.

For I believe education after all is for service and service is its only reward.

Question: What as a Ministry do you see as the objective of this country's foreign policy in a nutshell?

Answer: Principally our objective as a country in terms of foreign relations is to make friends and to broaden areas of contact to strengthen bilateral and multilateral areas of understanding.

In this process to garner the fruits of international understanding and co-operation either bilaterally or multilaterally to help our development process as a country.

CSO: 4700/1530

NEW BOOK PROVIDES INSIGHT, BACKGROUND FOR TREURNICHT'S BREAK WITH NP

Insight in Treurnicht's Career

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 30 May 82 p 10

[Article by Louis Oosthuysen: "He Changed Colors Right Before Important Decisions"]

[Text] A remarkable story about how Dr A.P. Treurnicht changed colors several times at moments of decisive decision-making, is being revealed in a chapter on his career, which is part of the book "Quarrel Among Brothers," which deals with the split of the National Party [NP] earlier this year.

A discussion of the book follows.

In the chapter about Dr Treurnicht's career, under the title "From Piketberg to Waterberg," the story is told of the role he played as editor of DIE KERKBODE at the time of the Cottesloe deliberations. This is followed by the role he played as editor of the Pretoria afternoon newspaper HOOFTAD during the Afrikaner squabbles of the sixties and how he played cat and mouse with Dr Albert Hertzog and his followers.

After having served in the administration of various municipalities, he was appointed editor of DIE KERKBODE in 1960, the year of big storms in South Africa.

As far as church life is concerned, this was the year of the Cottesloe deliberations, following the stormy disturbances organized by the PAC [Pan African Congress] and the Sharpeville shooting which followed. In the aftermath of Cottesloe, Dr Treurnicht played a role which assured his rise within the church hierarchy, and which probably led to his landing in politics later on, because of his reputation for "conservatism."

The book notes: "Dr Treurnicht was a member of one of the study committees of the NGK [Dutch Reformed Church] of the Cape, which drew up reports on the Cottesloe negotiations. On the evening before the conference, DIE KERKBODE, which at first had remained silent, expressed its approval of it.

"Two weeks after the negotiations, DIE KERKBODE sharply criticized its conclusions. On 28 December 1960, Dr Treurnicht labeled some of the Cottesloe

conclusions as 'an unacceptable coup d'etat.' With this he also turned against the church leader Dr A.J. van der Merwe, who played an important role at Cottesloe."

When the NGK Synod of the Cape met 10 months later and, at the suggestion of Dr Koot Vorster, did not associate itself with Cottesloe, Dr Treurnicht also participated in the debate. He said that the origins of race tensions were reported one-sidedly and incompletely in the Cottesloe declaration, and that the uncertainty among South Africans is the result of liberalistic pressure.

Professor W.J. van der Merwe, from the Seminary of Stellenbosch, pointed out that Dr Treurnicht was a member of a study committee which prepared the documents for the Cottesloe deliberations, and that many of the conclusions were derived from the study report which Dr Treurnicht helped prepare.

Thereupon Professor Van der Merwe said that it was a pity that "he did not then enrich us with his knowledge as he did this afternoon."

The writers of the book then continued: "That which Professor Van der Merwe put into words was frequently obvious later, like the fact that after the fact Dr Treurnicht would covertly or rather openly attack decisions and statements made by fellow National Party members, about which he originally kept silent, including within policy making bodies... That which happened after Cottesloe also happened in other cases: that in due course Dr Treurnicht would turn against people or institutions with which he walked together a good way. The leaders of the Refounded National Party [HNP], with whom he refused at the eleventh hour to hang together, provided the most bitter comments of all on Dr Treurnicht's 'opportunism.'"

However, the Cottesloe episode assured Dr Treurnicht's rise. In 1965, he became assistant chairman of the Cape Synod and in 1966, assistant chairman of the General Synod of the NGK.

In 1967, he accepted the offer to become editor of the HOOFTAD in Pretoria. Shortly before leaving Capetown he said that he would not feel flattered to be referred to as ultra-conservative, but it soon became clear that his newspaper quickly became the focus of ultra-rightist groups. Not only did the HOOFTAD teem with far-right statements and neo-conservative propaganda, but Dr Treurnicht himself began to act as spokesman for and protector of the Hertzog group within the National Party, at a time of severe internal fights about the undermining of the then prime minister, Mr John Vorster.

In August 1968, Mr Vorster decided to expel Dr Hertzog from the cabinet, and the executive committee of the NP in Transvaal also took disciplinary steps against seven individuals, who were known as the "smear writers" against Mr Vorster. The action against the writers played a role in a controversial column which Dr Treurnicht wrote on 3 January 1968 in the HOOFTAD. This was interpreted as an attack on Mr Vorster and on the government.

Dr Treurnicht wrote that too much is expected from the Afrikaners in order to obtain political cooperation from English speakers.

In his column, Dr Treurnicht complained that certain inhabitants of the Cape (whose names are not mentioned) are still in the National Party, while the smear writers were suspended. He also insinuated that supporters of "integration of the coloreds" are being tolerated in the National Party.

Dr Treurnicht, who was asked by Mr Vorster to become editor of the HOOFSTAD, wrote among other things the following: "When some people get hold of the concept of renewal or new, they see visions and grow wings... New standards and principles can mean only one thing, and that is the rejection of Christian ethics and of the morals and traditions which have been built on them over the centuries. Is that what we want? No, thank you!"

Support for his position came in a public letter from 10 clergymen in which they wrote, among other things: "The guarantee of our continued existence is ever more seen in the unity of larger numbers of whites. And in order to place larger numbers of whites under the same religious and cultural roof, our Christian principles must be stretched and twisted and ultimately even replaced in order to bring all those who do not necessarily belong together out of conviction, together anyhow."

Hence, it is clear that Dr Treurnicht's position was grist for the mill of the radical right wingers. Later on, this article was also distributed as a pamphlet, which aroused violent reactions.

The internal fights within the National Party reached a high with Dr Albert Hertzog's "Calvinist" speech in the House of Assembly in April 1968. This aroused vehement reactions from, among others, Mr Vorster and Mr Ben Schoeman. But Dr Treurnicht happily defended the Hertzog group in his newspaper. On 30 April he wrote: "The question is, who deviates from the principles of the National Party and who rejects the Christian-National Party basis of our whole social, educational, political and national life. Without being falsely pious: Who stands by the Lord and His Word?"

Dr Hertzog and his followers were apparently convinced that Dr Treurnicht would join them. He was coopted for the committee for party development, but he declined. When some of them went to talk to him to find out where he stood, he allegedly said: "Fellows, you do know that I agree with everything you say, don't you, but can't we try another blow from the inside?"

On 10 October, he tried to defend himself in his column as follows: "As far as I am concerned, if there is a need to fight against mistaken positions taken by some National Party members (not to mention the opposition) -- and there is definitely a need to fight -- then I want to do it within the National Party. I am not in favor of a breaking away."

On 11 October, Dawie reacted in DIE BURGER by writing that, after hesitating, Dr Treurnicht had made a noise which sounded like "no" to the top leaders of the Hertzog group. "He said that he wants to continue to do within the party what Dr Hertzog now perforce will have to do from without. Without mincing words, this means to dismantle the party under the pretext of fighting bad influences within it. Thus, it comes down to the fact that he will maintain the same kind of relationship with the Hertzog group which they themselves, until recently, maintained covertly with Messrs S.E.D. Brown and Barry Botha."

## Background of NP Split

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 30 May 82 p 11

[Article by Louis Oosthuysen: "A Look Behind the NP Fights"]

[Text] Numerous interesting facts and stories which occurred behind the scenes in the internal fights of the National Party since the first speculations started that Mr John Vorster would resign as prime minister, appear in a book "Quarrel Among Brothers,"\* which is being published this week by Tafelberg.

The book was written by two assistant editors of DIE BURGER. They are Mr Alf Ries, who has been a member of the political team of National Newspapers since 1959, and who for several years already has been the senior reporter for National Newspapers, and Mr Ebbe Dommissie, who has also been a long time member of the political team.

The book attempts to tell in chronological order about the tensions and clashes which have occurred recently within the NP, most of which has erupted to the outside, but many details of what happened behind the scenes have never been told.

The book is especially valuable, not because it is complete in all respects -- as a matter of fact, numerous documents and the experience of many people were not available to the writers --, but because it provides better insight and better understanding of where it all began, and how the whole undermining process by the group which broke away earlier this year progressed, a process which had actually been going on without interruption.

An objective and factual picture of Dr A.P. Treurnicht's positions since the days when he was still editor of DIE KERKBODE, will be an eye opener for many people. If they read the book, they will certainly better realize why newspapers and politicians never really left Dr Treurnicht in peace about his actions and his statements.

As a matter of fact, it was easier for them to see his comings and goings in perspective, something which was not always possible for the proverbial man in the street.

In addition, especially Mr Ries, as political correspondent for so many years, was often personally present at what happened, for example, on the evening before the election of the top leader in September 1978, when Mr Pik Botha, in his hotel room in Capetown, dictated a letter of resignation from the cabinet, which he planned to hand to Mr John Vorster the next day.

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\* Quarrel Among Brothers, by Alf Ries and Ebbe Dommissie, published by Tafelberg Publishers, Capetown. The price is 11.50 rand. The book is already available in bookstores.

He just felt that he could not associate himself with the manner in which Mr John Vorster had handled the information scandal, especially after Mr Botha had heard the story the previous days from lawyer Rit van Rooyen and, on top of that, had to find out that Dr Connie Mulders would probably be subpoenaed to testify before Judge Anton Mostert, who set up an investigation into alleged currency violations.

Mr Botha was persuaded not to resign. Mr Ries possesses the only copy of that letter.

Another interesting fact which is only coming to light now is that, in a letter addressed to Mr Louis Nel, member of parliament for Pretoria-Central, Dr Treurnicht offered to apologize for the Bols joke which he told in a restaurant in Bloubergstrand in 1979.

Mr Nel was so upset by the joke that he objected in a letter addressed to Dr Treurnicht -- and distributed copies of the letter among members of parliament. As a result of this, he landed in so much trouble that he was ultimately suspended as member of the National Party. It took several months before he was reinstated.

On the day he received Mr Nel's letter, Dr Treurnicht also wrote a letter to Mr Nel. It reads:

"Dear Louis,"

"I received your letter. You are the very first person to have seen an indecent reference to male sex organs in the joke in question -- and I have told that old joke many times. I have never thought about it in those terms and I don't pretend to be any more innocent than any other person. This is simply not an association for me. My wife knows the joke and she has never yet warned me that it is indecent, for the simple reason that we do not quite make that connection."

"As for my reaction to the speech by Minister Fanie Botha, I have expressed my full appreciation of it and also explicitly denied a few negative references. Precisely because I was and am aware of the fact that some sensitivity may exist on the matter, it was consciously not my intention to strike a discordant note."

"I don't think that it is necessary to respond to the remainder of your letter. Colleagues have congratulated me of their own accord for my words, and the first person to whom I mentioned your reaction was dumbfounded."

"Nevertheless, I am willing to offer an apology and, as a matter of fact, I will start by offering it to Minister Fanie Botha."

"Greetings,"

"Andries Treurnicht."

Dr Treurnicht never carried out his offer to apologize. It was learned later that some of his followers persuaded him not to do it.

The book also talks very interestingly about the tensions behind the scene when Dr Treurnicht and Mr P.W. Botha clashed in 1980 about colored boys who were to participate in the Cravenweek. The story goes, for example, that Mr Koos van der Merwe, member of parliament for Jeppe, drew up a list of 42 names of people who would follow Dr Treurnicht if a split were to occur.

Another revelation is the fact that during that period of tension, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg resigned from the cabinet. He evidently felt uneasy about the manner in which Dr Treurnicht was treated by Mr Botha. He went to talk about it with Mr Hendrik Schoeman.

He told Mr Schoeman that he had resigned from the cabinet, and asked Mr Schoeman whether he would give his letter of resignation to Mr Botha. Mr Schoeman advised him to think about it. Later on, Dr Hartzenberg returned to Mr Schoeman and told him that he would definitely resign, to which Mr Schoeman responded that he should give the letter, which was written on an ordinary piece of paper, himself to Mr Botha, which he did.

All eyes were on the cabinet meeting of Tuesday, 11 March 1980, but when cabinet members left the meeting smiling, it was realized that a formula for peace had been found.

Dr Hartzenberg's letter of resignation was torn into pieces. "Later on, he was lightly reprimanded by the prime minister for having resigned in such a 'careless' manner -- evidently a reference to the paper on which he had written his resignation and to the fact that he wanted an intermediary to give it to the prime minister," the book notes.

The book discloses too many anecdotes to mention here. It is clear that the writers took care to be thoroughly informed about their facts. Thus, for example, a full account is given about who spoke at the caucus of 24 February of this year, when Dr Treurnicht and his followers refused to give their support to a motion of confidence in the prime minister.

The same applies to what happened at the meeting of the directing committee of the NP in Pretoria, on 27 February of this year.

Seen as a whole, the book can only be described as a sound piece of work which provides the reader with a good comprehensive impression of the course of events until the greatest split in the National Party for about 50 years.

Naturally, new perspectives about issues can gradually develop, but for a book which was published so closely after the events, it is an excellent piece of work which will definitely help future historians in their research.

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CSO: 4701/98

ASSORTED ARTICLES ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, DEBATES

Officials Investigate Housing, Towns

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Members of Parliament and Provincial Council Members Investigate Housing, Towns"]

[Text] Prime Minister P.W. Botha announced yesterday that bottlenecks relative to housing and the whole question of town development will be investigated by a committee.

The committee, which will be made up of members of parliament and of provincial council members, will investigate the following:

- Procedures and proposals to quickly establish housing lots which are within the means of people who want new housing by paying special attention to sustained calls for the simplification and acceleration of town development. This could be done by eliminating or streamlining obstructive statutory regulations, measures, procedures and practices;
- Procedures to transfer land to authorized institutions or any other measures in case the town development process does not progress as desired;
- Procedures to promote the use of land by, for example, permitting subdivision or the building of more than one housing unit on a lot or plot whenever circumstances allow it; and
- Any other procedures which could promote the supplying of a sufficient number of housing lots and reduce their costs.

Mr Botha said that general complaints are being heard about the availability of housing property. Accusations are being traded back and forth about red tape and stumbling blocks being put in the way of the public at large in terms of obtaining housing, irrespective of efforts made by the government.

The government felt that it wanted to carry out a thorough investigation.

Mr Botha noted in his statement that an investigative committee determined 5 years ago that the most important bottlenecks in the area of housing were

the high cost of building lots, delays in the development of new townships and the high standard of housing required.

Even though, thanks to the work of the Advisory Committee on Housing Affairs, the situation has been substantially improved with regard to uniform town development procedures, charges are still being made that there are not enough housing lots available at reasonable prices.

Problems concerning the completion of private town developments within a reasonable amount of time and the subdivision of land under existing ordinances are mentioned. The high price of housing lots is also attributed to the purported lengthy delays.

In order to pay renewed attention to these problems, the government decided to appoint an investigative committee.

#### Botha Calls for Calm

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Prime Minister Requests Calm for Reform"]

[Text] Prime Minister P.W. Botha said yesterday that he hopes the country will remain calm in order to give the government the opportunity to meet its responsibilities in terms of the constitutional reform.

The prime minister said during the third reading debate on the budget bill that the National Party [NP] congresses will to a large extent influence the government's decisions on the Presidential Council proposals concerning a new constitutional allocation. Afterwards, the final proposals will be considered by the House of Assembly.

#### Proposals

The Constitutional Committee of the House of Assembly may also discuss the proposals. The government has given the assurance that any proposals on constitutional reform will be studied by the committee.

In response to a question from Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party [NRP], Mr Botha said that the Presidential Council itself was a first step allowing whites, coloreds and Indians to deliberate and consult with one another. The NRP participated in this.

#### Consultation

The government is now consulting with the leaders of population groups which have not been consulted yet. After having done this, it also has an obligation toward its own party. The government will consult with the leaders and congresses of the NP, and the congresses will to a large extent influence the government decisions.

Because such a comprehensive negotiation process must take place, the government has said that people should be careful and not confuse everything by taking a premature stand.

When all the negotiations have taken place, then the House of Assembly and the Provincial Councils can give final consideration to the proposals relative to matters which affect them. All final proposals will have to be discussed by the House of Assembly and when this takes place the proposals will receive the attention of all the parties in parliament.

Mr Botha commented that he does not believe there is a fairer position on the matter.

#### Black Settlement Bill Introduced

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Bill to Select Committee"]

[Text] The bill on the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Individuals, which provides for a new allocation for blacks in urban areas, has been referred to the Select Committee on the Constitution.

This bill was introduced the day before yesterday by Dr Piet Koornhof, minister of cooperation and development, and published yesterday. Dr Koornhof proposed yesterday that the bill be referred to the Select Committee.

#### Free Market Economy Studied

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Presidential Council to Study Free Market"]

[Text] The Presidential Council will be asked to investigate the measures which limit the functioning of a free market economic system in South Africa, Prime Minister P.W. Botha announced yesterday.

The study will take into account the plural composition of South Africa's population, Mr Botha said during the third reading debate on the budget.

Factors which will be taken into account are:

- Proceedings through which it will be possible to make the advantages of the system known more widely to the benefit of the less sophisticated consumers;
- Proceedings through which it will be possible to convey consumer information primarily to the less informed and less sophisticated consumers;
- The furnishing of adequate services and an acceptable level of trade commodities in the various communities; and
- Steps through which potential entrepreneurs can be identified, motivated and equipped in order to make a greater contribution to economic development, especially for groups who have a small share in the economy.

Mr Botha also announced that the Presidential Council will also be asked to look into nature conservation and development, as well as how to respond to the great shortage in technical and scientific workers in South Africa.

The Presidential Council will also look into the principles according to which priorities can be set between conservation and development by referring to the relative importance of the land as a whole on the one hand, and physical development on the other, as well as the question of whether conservation is a goal in and of itself or whether it is only a means to an end.

The status of nature conservation in South Africa will be studied, including the national parks, the conservation of the natural heritage of the land for posterity and the financing of the conservation operation.

#### Opposition Leader Challenged

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Slabbert Challenged on Buthelezi Plan"]

[Text] The leader of the opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, should now candidly say whether he rejects the position of Captain Gatsha Buthelezi, which advocates a political system of one man one vote in a unitary state, Prime Minister P.W. Botha said yesterday.

Mr Botha noted during the third reading debate on the budget that Dr Slabbert had said in a speech that the struggle for full citizenship and freedom for everyone in South Africa is continuing, and that he and Captain Buthelezi should join hands in the struggle ahead.

This was just after Captain Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, had said there would be no need for a great constitutional change in South Africa. The blacks only have to be given universal suffrage. This would mean a system of one man one vote in a unitary state, the prime minister said.

In response to a question from Mr Botha, Dr Slabbert said that he still supports paragraph 8 of the interim report of the Schlebusch Committee, which states that the Westminster system is unacceptable without adjustments and that a one man one vote system in the current constitutional context would lead to the domination of minorities by a majority.

The prime minister said that Dr Slabbert must now state in public that he rejects Captain Buthelezi's constitutional plan and that he will fight it together with the government.

Dr Slabbert refused to respond to this, while other PFP [Progressive Federal Party] members made interjections.

"Are you also being led from behind," Mr Botha asked Dr Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert must effectively and actively help put an end to the agitation for one man one vote in a unitary state. The government will not even discuss this with Captain Buthelezi, Mr Botha said.

To this, Dr Slabbert said that he would discuss the matter with Captain Buthelezi at a national convention and open negotiations on it.

Mr Botha noted that this would be playing with fire. This is why the voters of South Africa do not trust the PFP with the most important cornerstone of the country: white self-determination.

Useless

Referring to the Presidential Council, Mr Botha said that Dr Slabbert claims that if the government does not accept all the council's proposals, the Council would be useless. The government has never said that it is obliged to accept everything proposed by the Presidential Council. Just as the Presidential Council is not obliged to accept everything that the government says.

Dr Slabbert himself acknowledged that he would not accept things at his national convention which are contrary to the PFP principles.

Mr Botha called on Dr Slabbert to call the "rowdy" backbenchers in his party, who claim that the NP is a more serious threat to South Africa than communism, to order. He also referred to the foolishness of some local Progressive Party newspapers which claim that communism is not a real threat to South Africa.

Even this week, a high security official from Mozambique requested asylum in South Africa and said that the Russians are taking over in Mozambique. How can the opposition and Dr Andries Treurnicht in his rush to score a small political point against the government, claim that the attack is being exaggerated?

In any case, Dr Treurnicht was constantly drawing during cabinet meetings, Mr Botha said.

Mr Koot van Stade (NP, Appointed): He must have been drawing turtles.

#### Opposition Leader Warns Government

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Slabbert Warns Government About Plan for South Africa"]

[Text] Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the opposition, said yesterday that in spelling out its guidelines for constitutional reform, the government relied more on the 1977 proposals than on the Presidential Council proposals, and that a few half-baked changes of constitutional law will not restrain the right wing, but rather make it grow.

During the third reading debate on the budget bill, Dr Slabbert noted that it is clear that the government rejects the guidelines for a consociational democracy as proposed by the Presidential Council. The question may now be raised as to whether the Presidential Council has had any relevance up to now in the process of constitutional development.

## Guidelines

"Hence, it is not surprising that conjecture has arisen that the government is trying to find new work for the Presidential Council in a new allocation. It almost appears that the minister of internal affairs could present a more complete package in one afternoon than the Presidential Council could manage in a year and a half."

The final government proposals should be judged within the following guidelines:

- Do they increase or decrease the polarization between whites and blacks?
- Do they actually contribute to the elimination of discrimination? and
- Do they promote full citizenship for all South Africans -- whites, coloreds and blacks?

"The guidelines convince us that an effective, peaceful constitutional development can take place only if negotiations and discussions occur among all sections of the population. Therefore we believe that it is dangerous and short-sighted to exclude blacks from the constitutional stipulations and to ensconce the whites -- or any other predominant group -- in constitutional plans which try to present the appearance of distribution of power."

The government will have to choose between an obstinate clinging to the status quo or the introduction of a systematic reform.

"One thing is clear: it is impossible to appease the right wing and to reform systematically. If the government tries to do this, it will not only destroy itself but also the possibility of peaceful change."

## Botha Attacks KP Members

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Prime Minister Attacks Hoon, Van Heerden -- KP of the Cape Has Trampled on Trust"]

[Text] Prime Minister Botha said yesterday that the two Conservative Party [KP] members from the Cape have trampled on their voters' trust and broken a solemn promise toward the National Party under whose banner they came to parliament.

"They will have to live with their consciences."

Mr Botha made a scathing attack on the two dissident members, Messrs Jan Hoon from Kuruman and Ferdi van Heerden from De Aar, and stated that, when they were nominated as NP candidates, the two members had signed a solemn promise to remain loyal to the NP and to submit to its discipline. This promise closes with: "Therefore God help me to keep on the right track."

Those two will have to live with their consciences and go tell the voters what they have done with that promise. These are people who made great personal sacrifices, among which monetary ones, and worked hard in the two widespread

electoral districts to get these two NP members elected to the House of Assembly. They have trampled on these people's trust, said Mr Botha, who participated in the third reading debate on the budget.

Mr Botha singled out Mr Van Heerden, who ran over to the KP on Monday, and noted that Mr Van Heerden had told him (Mr Botha) in the presence of a witness that he supported the NP after the original break away of the 17 KP members.

"I leave him with his conscience. His conscience is in the pocket of his pants," said Mr Botha.

At Saturday's joint caucus meeting of the NP he asked beforehand for absolute secrecy from those who were present, and gave those who could not comply with this the opportunity to leave the hall. During the meeting, Mr Van Heerden did not ask a single question and at the end he only said that he could not support the NP.

Thus, Mr Van Heerden must have decided before that time that he would not go along with the NP. And when he (Mr Botha) told reporters from English speaking newspapers after the meeting that there was only one negative vote, they knew immediately that it was Mr Van Heerden who had voted against the guidelines, stated Mr Botha.

The National Party in Kuruman and De Aar is strong enough to survive this crisis. The voters will reject these two members.

"They will show you what one does with turncoats."

#### Coloreds Should Purchase Land

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Coloreds Must Buy Land for Homeland: KP"]

[Text] Coloreds and Indians must be given full rights to self-determination within their own areas and if these areas are to be consolidated, then the coloreds and Indians should themselves buy the land necessary for this consolidation, said Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (KP, Lichtenburg) yesterday during the third reading debate on the budget.

Dr Hartzenberg noted that his party supports this policy, because the KP rejects all forms of political integration and division of power at all levels.

The areas within which the coloreds and Indians should be given the right to self-determination, should be such that a maximum number of these groups can be settled within them.

Earlier in his speech, Dr Hartzenberg noted that the difference between the Presidential Council proposals and what the government will ultimately adopt, will be due to the existence of the KP. "If it weren't for the Conservative Party, the government would adopt all the proposals from the Presidential Council."

Mr Chris Heunis, minister of internal affairs, and Mr Keppies Niemann (NP, Kimberley-South) wanted to know why Dr Hartzenberg had split then.

Dr Hartzenberg: "If we had stayed we would not have accomplished anything because you would have run over us."

#### Conservative Party Chided

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Koornhof Attacks KP"]

[Text] Dr Piet Koornhof, minister of cooperation and development, said yesterday evening that the Conservative Party has the power to release dangerous powers in the area of white/black relations in South Africa, and that it is the responsibility of Dr Andries Treurnicht to stop this.

In a serious speech, which became stormy at times, Dr Koornhof stated that Dr Treurnicht is certainly one of the greatest dividers ever produced by the Afrikaner people.

Dr Koornhof noted that he negotiates daily with black leaders and that he shudders to tell what the black leaders say about the KP.

The Cillie Committee, which investigated the 1976 disturbances, found that the policy on the language of instruction and its manipulation was one of the primary causes of the disturbances. At that time, Dr Treurnicht was deputy minister for Bantu education and thus responsible for this matter.

Now that Dr Treurnicht and his people have broken away from the NP, they should guard against releasing powers in the country which will cause South Africa to perish in violence.

He had always been loyal to Dr Treurnicht as leader of Transvaal, but it now appears that Dr Treurnicht was undoubtedly one of the greatest dividers of the Afrikaner people since the Boer War. His dividing action started with Cottesloe. This went on from his capital days, when he colluded with S.E.D. Brown and Beaumont Schoeman, until now.

He sharply attacked the KP on the manner in which it involves churches in politics: "I want to warn you, don't, as with 'Die Patriot,' deal lightly with matters which are holy to the Afrikaners. You will wear the sign of the people who have divided the population and have let it perish."

## Botha Attacks KP Leaders

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "People Behind Dr Treurnicht Forced Him Out of Cabinet"]

[Text] Prime Minister P.W. Botha said yesterday that Drs Andries Treurnicht and Ferdi Hartzenberg did not freely resign from the cabinet but were, in his opinion, forced out by the people behind them.

Mr Botha responded, during the third reading debate on the budget, to a speech made by Dr Treurnicht earlier in the debate, and noted that Dr Treurnicht has already had three opportunities to outline his direction in the House of Assembly. "I don't know anyone, except for him, who knows where he is heading."

### Signatures

"He was a member of my cabinet. I appointed him to that position. I would like to tell him that he has disappointed me for the umpteenth time."

The prime minister -- who said that he was not speaking in a spirit of bitterness toward Dr Treurnicht -- confronted the leader of the Conservative Party with statements he made when he was still leader of the Transvaal National Party.

While Mr Botha spoke, the KP leader for the most part stared fixedly ahead and wrote something on a piece of paper.

Mr Botha stated that it is a pity that Dr Treurnicht is now contributing to the damaging of the party which he once helped lead. Dr Treurnicht has, together with other party leaders, signed certain documents, such as the election manifesto of the NP and the action program.

"We have made commitments toward the country with our signatures."

Dr Treurnicht now boasts of the 18 members behind him. They got to where they are under the banner of the NP.

While they were in the NP they did not tell the country that there were things they had doubts about -- they did, however, whisper and count heads following the first brief session of parliament last year and at other times.

The prime minister quoted from the program of principles of the NP in which it is said, among other things, that the party endeavors to achieve justice for all population groups in the country.

### Turn About

Dr Treurnicht also signed the action program. In it, it is said that the NP stands for the distribution of power among whites, coloreds and Indians within a system of consultation and joint responsibility, where it touches on common issues.

Mr Botha noted that this was exactly the task which had been assigned to the Presidential Council. Drs Treurnicht and Hartzenberg accepted full responsibility for this. Dr Hartzenberg even helped with the appointment of Dr Joggie van Oswegen to the Presidential Council.

They are now driving about the country and accusing their former colleagues of digressing from NP policy. Dr Treurnicht portrays himself as the one who stands for the preservation of the Afrikaners and of white rights.

Mr Botha quoted extensively from Dr Treurnicht's speech at the Transvaal congress following the election. In it, among other things, Dr Treurnicht attacked the right. He said that if people do not have better principles, they should not manufacture differences. They should not chase people, who belong together in terms of principles and policy, into different camps.

Within a few months, however, Dr Treurnicht made a turn about and is now doing everything he said people should not do, said Mr Botha.

The prime minister stated that many people in the past had tried to force the NP to its knees and had not succeeded. Dr Treurnicht will not succeed either.

#### Start To Count Heads

Dr Treurnicht uses his (Mr Botha's) statement, in which he clarified a healthy distribution of power, as an excuse to explain why he and his fellow KP members broke away. However, this is not the real reason. KP members had decided to break off long before that statement was made and weeks earlier they had begun to count heads. Furthermore, Dr Treurnicht also refuses to say what direction he wants to go with South Africa.

He made it clear in his statement that his interpretation of the concept of distribution of power differs greatly from the interpretation attached to it by the PFP. The leader of the opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, agrees, said the prime minister. However, he himself prefers the idea of joint responsibility, which is a form of healthy distribution of power without violating the right to self-determination of the population groups involved, stated Mr Botha.

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CSO: 4701/96

PW BOTHA RESHUFFLES CABINET

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 pp 1-2

[Article by Keith Abendroft and Sapa]

[Text]

**THREE new Cabinet Ministers and six new Deputy Ministers were named by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in a major Cabinet reshuffle last night.**

Only one Minister was dropped in the reshuffle, namely the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Hennie Smit, who has accepted "a high Government post" which he will take up later this year or early next year.

The Prime Minister announced his reshuffle at a Press conference in Pretoria.

One new portfolio was created, that of Constitutional Development. This will be handled by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, whose portfolio will be taken over by the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk.

The new Cabinet will

be sworn in in Pretoria on August 2.

**Ministers**

The three new Ministers are Mr Sarel Hayward (Environment and Fisheries — formerly Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries); Mr J J G Wentzel (Agriculture — formerly Deputy Minister of Development and

Land Affairs); and Mr D W Steyn (Education and Training--formerly Deputy Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism).

Twelve of the portfolios remain unchanged. They are: Mr P W Botha (Prime Minister); Mr S P Botha (Manpower); Dr P G J Koornhof (Co-operation and Development); Mr Hendrik Schoeman (Transport Affairs); Mr Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs and Information).

Mr Louis le Grange (Law and Order); Dr Gerrit Viljoen (National Education); General Magnus Malan (Defence); Mr Kobie Coetsee (Justice); Mr S F Kotze (Community Development); Mr Owen Horwood (Finance); Mr Dawie de Villiers (Industries, Commerce and Tourism).

### Changes

The other Ministers who remain in the Cabinet, but under different portfolios are:

Mr Chris Heunis (Constitutional Development); Mr F W de Klerk (Internal Affairs); De L A P A Munnik (Posts and Telecommunications); Dr C V (Nak) van der Merwe (Health); Mr Pietie du Plessis (Mineral and Energy Affairs).

### New life

The reshuffle, too, is aimed at putting new life into the waning and staff crisis struck Public Service with the appointment of Mr De Klerk as Minister of In-

ternal Affairs.

The former Minister of this portfolio, Mr Heunis, is appointed Minister of the new Department of Constitutional Development with the aim of liaising closely with the State President's Council and co-ordinating and speeding up constitutional development.

Mr Botha told a Press conference at the Union Buildings that of the four new Deputy Ministers, one, Mr Barend du Plessis, was being appointed Deputy Minister of Information to give impetus to determination to improve Government-Press relationships following criticism by the Steyn Commission of these relationships.

Mr Du Plessis (42) is a former school teacher and is now a company director.

### Vacancies

Mr Botha said the appointment of Mr Van der Walt and Mr Venter (MP for Klerksdorp and Deputy Chairman

of the Assembly — would create vacancies which would be filled later this year.

Mr Heunis, in his new post, would have to "feel his way" as constitutional developments accelerated and he would work to co-ordinate and streamline implementation of developments.

"The appointment of Mr Heunis does not mean that more importance will be attached to the workings of the State President's Council — that body is already a vitally important one.

"But the Government is anxious to co-ordinate all matters relating to constitutional development."

Mr De Klerk's appointment mirrored the very serious way in which the Government viewed the Public Service.

Mr De Klerk was a dedicated and energetic Minister who would be directly responsible for the dynamic development of the Public Service.

"His appointment reflects the very serious

light in which the Government regards the situation," Mr Botha said.

Two Deputy Ministers' portfolios stay unchanged. They are Dr G de V Morrison (Deputy Minister of Co-operation), and Mr P J Badenhorst (Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs).

Deputy Minister, Mr P Cronje, has a new portfolio — Welfare and Community Development.

### Deputies

The new Deputy Ministers are: Mr John Wiley (MP Simons-town), Environmental Affairs and Fisheries; Mr H J D van der Walt (Nominated), Co-operation and Land Affairs; Mr G J Kotze (Malmesbury) Deputy Minister of Agriculture; Mr B J du Plessis (Florida) Information; Mr A A Venter (Klerksdorp) Industries; Mr E van der M Louw (Namaqualand) Finance.

The reshuffle is seen as a bid to smooth the path to a new constitutional pattern for the Republic.

CABINET RESHUFFLE INDICATES BOTHA'S INTEREST

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Jul 82 p 6

[Editorial: "The Cabinet"]

[Text]

**YOU NEED** not have any doubt anymore.

Mr PW Botha is going ahead with reform. His Cabinet changes confirm this.

Mr Chris Heunis, the man who is generally regarded as the architect of reform, has been given the key post of Minister of Constitutional Development.

He will now co-ordinate all matters relating to constitutional development, the Prime Minister says.

The burden placed on Mr Heunis is a very heavy one, because what he does will not only determine the country's constitutional future but also the fate of his party and of the folk.

We can only hope that he acts wisely — and with care.

We are pleased that the leader of the Transvaal National Party, Mr FW de Klerk, has been promoted to the important portfolio of Internal Affairs.

Mr De Klerk is an able administrator, and in his new office he will be directly responsible for the dynamic development of the public service, which at present is suffering a serious staff shortage.

Mr De Klerk at the same time will have to rebuild his party's fortunes in the Transvaal, where the Treurnichtite breakaway has done the most damage and where there is a Right-wing challenge both from the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale Parties.

Mr Hennie Smit, who has been known more for his statement about the Blacks having slow thought processes than for any particular achievement as Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, has been dropped from the Cabinet — and will not be missed.

Dr LAPA Munnik, who as Minister of Health also made some unfortunate

statements, like pensioners being able to live well on R20 a month, has surprisingly been retained, but in the position of Minister of Posts and Telecommunications. Since that portfolio need not bring the Minister into public controversy, we don't think he should have much reason to put his foot into it in the future. But one never knows.

A couple of other Cabinet Ministers, Dr Nak van der Merwe and Mr Pietie du Plessis, have new portfolios — Health and Mineral and Energy Affairs respectively — and three Deputy Ministers have been promoted to the Cabinet, while otherwise remains unchanged.

Among the six new Deputy Ministers, chief interest will be in the choice of the verligte Mr Barend du Plessis as Deputy Minister of Information.

He is a close political ally of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Information, Mr Pik Botha, under whom the SABC falls.

The two in tandem, as Minister and Deputy Minister of Information, will be able to exercise a great deal of authority over the SABC, especially television, which has become the Government's chief propaganda medium.

Mr Du Plessis has been given the task of improving the Government's relationship with the Press, in the light of Steyn

Commission criticisms, and it will be interesting to see how he performs that task, especially now that the Government has enacted a law under which the Press will "voluntarily" be disciplined to the Government's satisfaction, or else . . .

Another appointment of interest is that of Mr John Wiley as Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Fisheries, the latter being a subject on which he is something of an expert.

He is the second English-speaking member of the Government, the other being Mr Herwood, the Minister of Finance. It is a pity there are not one or two others in an almost exclusively Afrikaner Government, particularly as the Government will increasingly need English-speaking support for its reform plans.

In wishing the Cabinet and Deputy Ministers success in their endeavours, we are conscious of the great problems confronting South Africa at the present time and the need for the Government to give the country the dynamic leadership without which it cannot overcome its problems.

South Africa is moving in new directions, whether a great number of conservatives accept this or not.

Let it move wisely, for what is done in the next couple of years will determine the future of all of us.

CONFUSION OVER WHO IS NOW IN CONTROL OF INGWAVUMA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Tim Clarke]

[Text]

**DURBAN.** — Confusion reigned in the Ingwavuma area of Zululand yesterday as both the KwaZulu Government and the Department of Co-operation and Development tried to sort out who in fact was now in control of the area.

Mr E F Oltman, secretary to the head of the KwaZulu nation, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday in a telephone interview there was "considerable confusion" and at this stage he could not say definitely which government administered Ingwavuma.

The confusion is a sequel to the judgment handed down by a full bench of the Natal Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday night that a second proclamation by the State President, placing the disputed area of Ingwavuma under the control of the Department of Co-operation and Development was now invalid.

Yesterday, after the court ruling, the KwaZulu Government instructed health, welfare, agriculture, forestry and works departments to resume work in the disputed territory.

However, they held

back on sending the justice official, a magistrate, to the town of Ingwavuma itself, while the confusion prevailed.

According to the attorney for the KwaZulu Government, the appeal lodged on Wednesday night by the State against the Supreme Court decision, has suspended the court's order.

According to the KwaZulu attorney, the South African Government is now back in control in the area.

KwaZulu officials who were interviewed at Ulundi, the capital of Zululand, said yesterday the situation was "highly confusing."

Mr Oltman said KwaZulu wanted to minimise the effect the legal wrangle was having on the 87 000 residents in the area.

The Department of Co-operation and Development is believed to have sent at least six civil servants to Ingwavuma after the first proclamation of June 18 taking away the area from KwaZulu and placing it in the department's hands.

KwaZulu lawyers said yesterday that there now appeared to be two options open to Ulundi to get the dis-

tract placed back under KwaZulu's control.

According to one of the attorneys who appeared in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme court on Wednesday, the first option was to ask the full Bench of the Natal Supreme Court for an order granting interim relief until the appeal had been heard.

He said that because an appeal usually took about two years before being heard by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein, it was essential to get the interim decision on who exactly would control the area.

The second option was to have the ruling of the first court case, heard by Mr Justice Shearer in the Durban Supreme Court last Friday enforced.

He was of the opinion that this could involve proving that the South African Government authorities who were now in control of Ingwavuma were in contempt of that first court ruling.

The Citizen learnt yesterday that officials from both KwaZulu and the department were

only staying a few kilometres from Ingwavuma, waiting to see who is in charge.

In a Natal Provincial Council debate on the issue in Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday a motion calling on the Government to hold referendum as soon as possible to canvass views of those affected by the proposed hand-over was passed.

The motion was passed after a five-hour debate and after the five-man National Party opposition in the council kept up a sustained attack on the motion and expressed full confidence in the Government's handling of the controversial issue.

The motion called on the Government to reconvene Parliament if necessary, after noting that the Natal Provincial Council did not have the power itself to hold a referendum.

The senior MEC in the province, Mr Frank Martin, said during the debate the Government did not appear to be aware of the consequences of its actions, taken without consultation with the people concerned.

POLICE TESTIMONY DENIES PURPORTED AGGETT COMPLAINTS

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 2

[Article: "Aggett Never Complained of Being Assaulted"]

[Text] Johannesburg -- A captain of the Security Police testified yesterday in magistrate's court that in November of last year, he had taken two warrants to a house and had taken Dr Neil Aggett into custody for promoting the aims of the African National Congress.

Several books and documents relating to his political activities were also seized.

Captain Jacob C. Strauss testified that on 27 November he received a search warrant and a warrant for the arrest for interrogation of Dr Aggett.

About 6:15 that evening, he and other members of the police department went to a house in Crown Mines, where he found Dr Aggett and his friend, Dr Elizabeth Floyd.

Documentary Evidence

"I told him that I was taking him into custody for promoting the aims of the ANC. Afterwards we went to a residence at 420A Foxstraat. In the presence of Dr Aggett, I seized several pieces of documentary evidence which would be used later on in the prosecution."

He had questioned Dr Aggett in the car with regard to his activities with the ANC and the unions, but he "refused to answer any questions."

In response to a question from counselor D. Kuny, lawyer for the Aggett family, Captain Strauss admitted that the warrant had been for detention and not taking into custody. However, he did take him into custody.

Counselor Kuny: "On what charge did you take him into custody?"

Captain Strauss: "For promoting the goals of the ANC."

Counselor Kuny: "Was he ever brought before a court within 48 hours on this charge?"

Captain Strauss: "I don't know. I only took him into custody."

According to Captain Strauss, Dr Aggett was never assaulted in his presence.

Adjutant Officer Walter McPherson, attached to the security branch at the John Vorsterplein prison for people arrested by the Security Police, also testified that Dr Aggett never mentioned to him that he had been assaulted.

On 4 January he complained of backpain. He wanted to send him to a doctor, but Dr Aggett said that he wanted to take a pain pill.

He also testified that he had seen Dr Aggett nearly every day and that he had not noticed any change in his appearance or behavior. He never caused any problems and carried out all orders.

Key

Adjutant Officer Johannes Stephanus Marais, who was in charge at the police station on the evening of 5 February, testified that he was entitled to use the sealed duplicate key, which gives access to the cells of those arrested by the Security Police, in cases of emergency. However he went without that key to the cell after Sergeant James Achenbach told him that Dr Aggett was dead in his cell.

Summoned

Yesterday, a statement by Mr Maurice Smithers, who was arrested together with Dr Aggett, was presented to magistrate Kotze. He issued an order to the effect that Mr Smithers must be summoned to testify.

The investigation is continuing.

Magistrate Kotze is being assisted by Professor L.S. Smith. Lawyers P.G. Haasbroek and Andre de Vries are presiding over the testimony, and lawyer P.J. Schabert, senior counsel, assisted by lawyer S. Burger, are appearing for the Minister of Law and Order and the Police.

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CSO: 4701/92

IRA CHALLENGE TO PFP FOR HILLBROW SEAT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Jul 82 p 9

[Article by Marilyn Cohen]

[Text]

**THE** Progressive Federal Party can start preparing itself for a fight in the Hillbrow municipal by-election next month.

The Independent Ratepayers' Action group, headed by the chairman of the Johannesburg Management Committee, Mr Francois Oberholzer will contest the seat vacated by the PFP's Mr Simon Chilchik.

Mr Mike Levin, who unsuccessfully stood for the IRA in nearby Bellevue in the March municipal elections will be their candidate in Hillbrow.

He told The Citizen yesterday he had already started canvassing the flatland ward.

Mr Levin made his de-

cision to contest the ward after it became known that Mr Chilchik, who resigned from the city council because of financial difficulties, would definitely not stand for re-election.

"Hillbrow voted for Simon Chilchik because he was Simon Chilchik and I would not have thought of opposing him," Mr Levin said.

"Not only is he a friend of mine, but we have the same ideas of looking after the pensioners, the aged and the flat dwellers who are being subjected to a continual rent squeeze in Hillbrow.

"We differ only over the PFP policy of opening Hillbrow to all races. I want Hillbrow to remain White."

Meanwhile the New

Republic Party has still not decided whether or not to contest the seat.

"We are looking at Hillbrow in the context of our entire Johannesburg strategy and we will take a decision on the matter this week," Mr Edmund Elias, regional chairman of the NRP said yesterday.

Should the NRP contest the seat, Mr Levin may decide not to stand as "I don't want a three-cornered fight."

Nominations close at 3 pm on August 11.

The PFP will decide on Thursday which of the three men nominated for the party's candidature will contest the election. All three, Mr Ivor Cohen, Mr Cecil Bass and Mr Tom Leff stood unsuccessfully for the PFP in the March elections.

CSO: 4700/1544

# BATTLE BETWEEN RIGHTWING PARTIES LOOMS IN GERMISTON

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Jul 82 p 9

[Text]

THE first shots in the Germiston district provincial by-election have been fired, with Rightwing parties claiming a "massive" anti-Government vote is looming.

Nomination day is on Thursday and the by-election is already shaping up into a battle of the Right, with the National Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party likely to be the only parties to contest the seat.

So far all three parties have announced their candidates.

It is unlikely that the Progressive Federal Party or the New Republic Party will enter the by-election.

The NP has nominated Mr Flip van der Walt, the HNP Mr Jack Myburgh and the CP Mr Willem Guy.

By nominating candidates the HNP and the CP have squashed all talk of a possible pact against the NP.

Senior HNP officials claim they have had 1 001 signatures accepted by the electoral returning officer, against about 600 accepted from the CP.

The HNP forecasts a total HNP vote of about 3 000 and a CP vote of about 1 500. The resulting "anti-Government" vote of 4 500 will land the NP "in deep trouble," HNP officials say.

The NP had little more than token resistance in the seat from the old United Party in 1974 and the PFP in 1977.

In 1981 Mrs Bessie Scholtz was returned unopposed as the National Party Member of Parliament and Mr Ben van den Berg as NP Member of the Provincial Council.

But Mrs Scholtz has since joined the CP. The resignation of Mr Van den Berg for business reasons has led to the by-election.

CSO: 4700/1544

## TWO SA FARMS GO TO VENDA IN 'FINAL' DEAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Marilyn Cohen]

[Text]

**LOUIS TRICHARDT.**

— Only two White farms are to be affected by what the Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, last night announced as "the final consolidation of Venda".

He conceded however, that he could not speak for the Venda Government and he did not know if Venda would at some stage in the future lay any further claims to South African land including Louis Trichardt and Messina.

Addressing a Press conference on the final consolidation, Mr Botha, in whose parliamentary constituency the affected land falls, said South Africa was to receive a total of 48 000 ha from Venda while Venda was to receive 53 000 ha from South Africa.

**Retain**

Venda was also to retain another 20 000 ha of land which had been in dispute.

This last piece of land is the only part of Venda not linked in any way to the main body of the State. It is separated by a White corridor of land which includes Louis Trichardt.

Mr Botha said Venda had agreed to give a strip of land on its

northern boundary known as the "Limpopo Corridor" to South Africa.

**Militarised**

The Limpopo Corridor, he said, was a militarised zone and it was right on the Zimbabwe border and was completely uninhabitable. In exchange Venda was to receive the Nwanedzi farms — an area of 50 000 ha with a well developed infrastructure.

All White farms in this area had been expropriated over the years. The only two White farms affected by the consolidated plans were on the western side of Venda and were called "Lukin and Se-laita."

**Bought**

Mr Botha said these farms would have to be bought. Right in the south of Venda, the farms in the Elimkop, Bandelierkop and Soekmekaar areas which had previously been expropriated for Venda are now to be returned to South Africa.

Farms in this area would be advertised in the normal way and sold to South African farmers, Mr Botha said.

Another area which had been in dispute, the Entabeni forest reserves, which had always belonged to South Africa would now become a joint development project of the two countries. The land would, however, remain South African property.

#### Projects

Mr Botha said the way was open for more joint development projects between the two countries — either in Venda or South Africa.

Asked if this were indeed the final consolidation plan for Venda, Mr Botha replied: "As far as I am aware, there is no outstanding ground to be discussed at present. The areas I have mentioned were the only ones considered by the South African Government."

When it was put to him that President Patrick Mphahlele of Venda had said in 1960, on the first anniversary of his

country's independence, he wanted Louis Trichardt, Tshipise, Messina, Soekmekear, and Levubu — Mr Botha acknowledged that these areas had "been mentioned in the past but they had never been considered by the South African Government."

#### Issue

"If the issue of these areas is raised again, it will have to be put to the Department of Foreign Affairs but I cannot see Louis Trichardt or Messina being given to Venda," he said.

Asked whether Venda had not laid claim to a finger of Gazankulu territory which almost splits the southernmost section of Venda from the main body of the state, Mr Botha said: "I don't think Gazankulu would be glad to part with this land. It has been well developed by them."

CSO: 4700/1544

## CISKEI BATTENS DOWN THE HATCHES

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 2 Jul 82 p 10

[Text]

**A TRIP** through the newly "independent" Ciskei leaves the traveller with thoughts on agriculture and conservation and a romantic admiration for the apparent tranquility of the traditional African lifestyle.

The traveller may ponder, for a brief moment, on problems of soil erosion and overgrazed land or on animals that stray through broken fences onto national roads. But, he will wonder, with a touch of envy, about the old man leaning on his hoe in a land or the children in rags who merrily chased the cow in the road and waved as he drove off — a far cry from the five o'clock city traffic jam.

This peaceful picture is the one President Lennox Sebe would like to show to the world. Investors and industrialists may be frightened off if they believed Ciskei was instable, he has often said.

Yet a glance at media reports of recent months indicate that Ciskei is not as peaceful as Chief Sebe would like it to be and not all are satisfied with the status quo.

**DETAINED**

At least 19 people have been detained since April. Some have appeared in court on charges under the Terrorism Act. Others are yet to be charged and their cases are still being investigated.

Chief Sebe has told the national Assembly of three "terrorist" encounters in Mdantsane. Ciskei security forces conducted a blitz from June 16 to 26 and had confiscated large quantities of pamphlets of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress and arrested a large number of people, he told the Assembly this week. Chiefs and headmen had been issued with firearms as "a means to fight terrorism", Chief Sebe told the Assembly.

At the time Chief Sebe announced an encounter with "terrorists" he assured the House that the State was safe because of the work of the sons of the Ciskei in the security forces.

**POWERS**

Last week the National Security Bill, which gives wide-ranging powers to Commander-General

of Security, Charles Sebe, was read a third time.

Chief Sebe, delivering the second reading of the Bill, said there were "drastic measures" in parts of the legislation. "But we believe those to be a necessary and fair set of counter-measures to defend our orderly society against the forces of anarchy and revolution."

The Bill, which repeals 34 Acts, including the dreaded Emergency Proclamation R252 under which most security arrests were made, is based partly on the Rabie Commission report.

Chief Sebe said the Bill was not intended to oppress but to maintain the sovereignty of the State and the safety of its people.

When enacted it will make Charles Sebe all-powerful with authority to decide on who will be detained or restricted, what organisations are unlawful, what newspapers may be registered or what slogans, salutes or songs should be prohibited, to name but a few of the amendments.

An associate profes-

sor of African Politics at Rhodes University, Prof Nancy Chantou, has described the Bill as the reaction of a small, frightening elite feeling threatened by a build-up of opposition.

"A government which is very vulnerable and weak should be building up legitimacy among the people, but a measure like this is only going to alienate all the people from the homeland system.

"It is highly shortsighted to rely on the force of arms," she said.

Prof John Dugard, of the Centre of Applied Legal Studies, said the Ciskei Bill showed the clear influence of the Rabie Commission report and the South African Internal Security Act which meant that the laws were being modelled on the "repressive laws of the Republic".

"Surely the South African Government, which claims to be influenced by Christian, Western values, could set a better example to its offspring than it has done."

Whether the criticism, the Bill has made Charles Sebe the most powerful person in Ciskei which has a population of 666 000-odd people — a position he could never have dreamt of when he joined the

South African Police Force in 1957.

Charles Sebe has had a career which can only be described as extraordinary. He served in both the uniformed and security branches of the South African Police Force before becoming a founder-member of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services in 1977.

He has maintained a close link with his South African counterparts and the two still work in close co-operation. His rise through the ranks of the police force in Ciskei has been rapid and today, after five years, he holds the rank of major-general.

Charles Sebe has devoted his life to fighting communism in whatever form he may see it. "I know the communists are after my blood, but I cannot be killed by heathens. God has spoken to me. He won't kill me until communism is eradicated from South Africa."

He said recently: "Without fear of doubt in my mind I believe that we will overcome."

His communist fight includes vetting the work of poets lest a message be hidden between the lines.

Charles Sebe takes pains to emphasise that he is only a professional security man and not a politician. Often he will refuse to comment on an

issue which has political implications as, "I am a security man".

As a true professional his telephone interviews are short and abrupt and often end with "roger" as in two-way radio conversations.

#### THE AXE

Despite portraying the intelligence officer image, it is well known that Charles Sebe wields considerable power in the Ciskei Government. It is rumoured that he played a leading part in the axing of former advisor to the President, Rowan Cronje, earlier this year.

He also has a say in the allocation of houses, employment, school entrance and many other basic issues in Ciskei and deals with potential industrialists and financiers.

Charles Sebe, wiry and athletic and always on the go, had to work from home for a week recently owing to poor health. Last week, however, he looked perfectly fit barring some bad acne spots. "My doctor says I am the healthiest man in Ciskei," he said.

Ciskei's new Bill has drawn no response from the ordinary citizen. Many are too intimidated to talk openly. Others believe the Bill will have no significant effect.

TEARGAS FIRED AT MARCHING STRIKERS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jul 82 p 11

[Text]

**TONGAAT.** — Police fired teargas cannisters into a group of marching strikers as they entered Tongaat, on the north coast, on Thursday.

About 2 000 workers from the Tongaat's group's David Whitehead Factory marched from the factory to a meeting at a Tongaat Hotel. Women workers were taken there by the union by bus.

The police who followed the marching workers, blocked off a side-street and then fired three teargas cannisters into the crowd.

Workers streamed up another side-street in an attempt to escape the gas.

Brigadier John Visser, Port Natal's Divisional Commissioner, confirmed that "a few teargas cannisters" had been used because workers "failed to com-

ply with an instruction to disperse".

A spokesman for the Fosatu-affiliated National Union of Textile Workers condemned this "unprovoked attack by the police" and said their "intervention had inflamed the whole situation".

Earlier in the day a notice issued by the company said that unless the workers returned to work by "normal shift", they "will be regarded as no longer in the employment of David Whitehead".

The company has approved an average wage increase of 23,6 percent.

A Fosatu spokesman said, however, the issue had been the incorporation of the living-out allowance into the increase.

"The company's enforcement of an unacceptable and highly confusing principle has led to the strike."

CSO: 4700/1527

# MINERS GO BACK TO WORK

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 p 3

[Text]

**TRANSVAAL** mines which have been plagued by unrest during the past few days, were nearly back to normal yesterday.

According to a Glen-  
cor spokesman, the situ-  
ation was under control  
at Buffelfontein, Stil-  
fontein and Grootvlei. A  
total of 95 percent of the  
workforce had returned  
to work at the  
Impala platinum mines.

A spokesman for the  
Gold Fields Mining  
Company, said production  
had returned to normal  
at the West and East  
Driefontein mines, as  
well as at the Kloof  
mine.

The spokesman  
added, however, that at  
the West Driefontein  
mine 1 233 workers out  
of 12 000 had been re-  
turned to their home-  
lands. At the East Drie-  
fontein, about 200 and at  
Kloof 13 workers had  
been sent back.

## Dissatisfied

Mining sources have  
said that the Black  
underground workers  
were dissatisfied with  
last week's 12 percent  
pay rise and were dissat-  
isfied with surface work-  
ers in "safe jobs" being  
awarded 11 percent  
wage increases.

Meanwhile, unrest  
broke out yesterday at  
the Venterspos gold  
mine, near Westonaria.

A police spokesman  
said in Pretoria that 80  
out of a 1 800-man  
underground shift had  
downed tools yesterday  
morning after incidents  
of intimidation by about  
100 men.

Several Black mine-  
workers at the Dunnocol  
coal mine at Danhauser  
were arrested after  
going on strike and se-  
riously damaging mine  
property.

A police spokesman in  
Pretoria confirmed that  
about 600 miners went  
on strike on Monday at 5  
am.

It is believed that the  
men went on strike after  
a dispute over wages at  
the mine.

Police and members of  
the mine security sec-  
tion used sneeze gas and  
police dogs to control the  
strikers.

The strikers started  
throwing stones at a  
beerhall, and at number  
5 shaft, they burnt out a  
tractor. Windows at the  
hostel were also broken.  
Nobody was injured and  
after a number of mine  
workers had been ar-  
rested, everything was  
under control.

## CAPETOWN SQUATTERS CAN BUILD SHELTERS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Jul 82 p 5

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The year-long struggle by about 700 squatters for legal status in the Western Cape took a new turn on Tuesday when about 100 of them were granted permission by the Administration Board to erect temporary homes near Crossroads.

The site is about 30 m from the no-name squatter camp where their battle to live legally in the Western Cape with their families began.

The squatters were granted permission to erect shelters after they were evicted from the grounds of the Holy Cross Church in Nyanga.

They were asked to leave because the church, which had accommodated them for three months, felt it was the Government's responsibility to house them.

The decision to allow the people to move to another site came after a meeting between the Chief Commissioner of Co-Operation and Development in the Western Cape, Mr Timó Benidienhoud and representatives of the squatters.

The commissioner said permission had been given to erect tents only. Plastic ma-

terial could be used, however.

The squatters were told that a request to erect temporary wood-and-iron structures would be considered.

The people moved on Tuesday night and by early yesterday a small squatter settlement had mushroomed.

About 200 more of the 700 squatters being considered for legal status in the Western Cape yesterday joined the original 100 people.

Mr Theophilus Tayo, a squatter committee member said the Administration Board had allocated the site early yesterday and promised to return later to install water and ablution facilities.

The latest decision by the board brings to 500 the total number of former no-name squatters who are now, with the board's sanction, within 100 m of the original camp.

They are all from the group of about 700 people Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-Operation and Development, had agreed to consider for legal status.

The date for a final decision has been set for September 20 and people have had their pass books endorsed until then.

BLACK MINEWORKERS GET LOW PAY, NO TRAINING

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Joshua Raboroko]

[Text]

**THE AVERAGE WHITE** mine underground novice earns more than R1 000 a month, while his black counterpart earns only R240 a month, The SOWETAN established yesterday.

The reason for the large disparity, it was claimed yesterday, was because, while whites received training before being engaged in the mining industry, blacks did not get such training.

In fact, the white Mineworkers' Union has strongly opposed any relaxation on job reservation on the mines.

It has also been announced that thousands of black novice surface workers will get a new starting rate of R100 a month from today.

A statement issued by the Chamber of Mines said that the increase represented a hike of R10 or 11.1 percent over the previous starting wage of R90 a month for novice surface workers.

The statement also says that all black workers on the gold mines and some platinum mines and coal mines will benefit from the new salary adjustments.

**Novice**

The new cash minimum starting rate for novice underground workers will be R129 a month plus free board, lodging and other benefits estimated to be worth an additional R90 a month. This represents an increase of R14 a month, or 12.2

percent over the previous novice starting rate of R115 a month.

A spokesman for the Chamber of Mines said that the Wiehahn Commission had recommended removal of job discrimination in the industry, but white miners had opposed these recommendations. He added that the Chamber looked forward "to the day when discrimination will be absolutely removed" so that black miners could receive the same training as that given to whites.

CSO: 4700/1527

## WORKING COSTS UP SHARPLY AT GFSA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 p 21

[Text]

**WORKING** costs of mines in the Gold Fields group (GFSA) for the second quarter of this year increased at an average rate of 2,8 percent, a trend which will probably accelerate in the third quarter of the year when all salary and wage increases come into effect.

At some of the mines, costs per ton milled increased as much as 7 percent. The head of GFSA's gold division, Colin Fenton, yesterday had very little explanation on why costs had increased so steeply despite higher tonnage milled.

**Artificial**

Another feature of the second quarter results was high capital expenditure and the fact that State share of the profits had dropped considerably.

This led to the artificial situation where after-tax profits for the quarter were better than those of the previous quarter despite a further deterioration in the average price of gold.

The tonnage milled by the operating mines in the group increased to 3 586 000 tons, against 3 517 000.

The grade was also slightly higher at 9,9 (9,7) gram/tons, which led to a slightly higher gold production.

**Sundry Items**

This was, however, not enough to prevent profit from gold operations sliding from R240-million to R237-million.

After other sundry items, the profit before tax and the State's share of the profits showed a drop of 2,5 percent and amounted to R274-million.

Capital expenditure for the quarter increased from R45-million to R57-million and was the main reason why tax and the State's share of the profit dropped from R147-million to R92-million.

Tax and the State share paid by DRIEFONTEIN CONSOLIDATED decreased by R38-million as a result of the acquisition of the mining assets of West Driefontein in terms of the scheme for the merger of those two companies.

The reduced provision for tax and State's share of the profit caused the taxed profit to increase by R48-million from R133-million to R182-million.

**EAST DRIEFONTEIN** was one of the mines that showed a sharp increase in costs despite the fact that the tonnage milled was unchanged.

Cost per ton milled was up from R43,86 to R46,68.

**WEST DRIEFONTEIN** fared a little better by maintaining its cost increase within 5 percent. At both the mines the grade was slightly better, which led to higher gold production.

**DRIEFONTEIN CONSOLIDATED** showed a pre-tax profit of R178,6-million (R183,4-million).

Tax and State share of the profit as a result of the merger dropped from R108,9-million to R55,8-million, leaving the combined operation with an aftertax profit of R122,8-million (R76,5-million).

Mr Fenton pointed out yesterday that although the saving of R38-million was brought into account in the second quarter, the consideration underlying the transaction was subject to review by the Government Mining Engineer. Depending on his ruling next tax saving may require some adjustment.

**LIBANON'S** result showed very little change from the first quarter.

Gold production was slightly better because of the better grade.

This counteracts the lower gold price to such an extent that the amount for distribution is the same as it was in the previous quarter.

		Tons milled	Yield g/t	Costs p/t	Costs R/ton	Revenue t/oz	Revenue t/oz	Net Profit R/Kg	Net Profit after Profit R000s	EPS after Capex R000s
<b>DRIE CONS</b>	June							122 798	90 140	88
	Mar							76 485	59 550	63
<b>WEST DRIE</b>	June	720	14.3	52.24	106	335	11 530			
	Mar	720	14.2	49.93	111	371	11 770			
<b>EAST DRIE</b>	June	705	13.1	46.68	103	334	11 520			
	Mar	705	12.8	43.66	106	374	11 873			
<b>LIBANON</b>	June	420	8.4	44.28	200	333	11 509	10 573	4 253	54
	Mar	420	8.2	42.80	217	370	11 756	11 190	4 273	54
<b>KLOOF</b>	June	470	14.8	61.77	121	334	11 515	28 974	17 180	57
	Mar	424	14.8	65.46	139	372	11 814	28 138	17 542	58
<b>DEELKRAAL</b>	June	335	5.1	48.97	280	332	11 444	3 888	(538)	
	Mar	315	4.7	49.83	334	372	11 803	2 684	(1 713)	
<b>VLAKS</b>	June	195	1.2	9.52	267	324	11 185	404	406	7
	Mar	192	1.2	9.85	337	385	12 200	385	392	7
<b>VENTERS</b>	June	375	4.8	46.86	295	330	11 384	2 878	1 724	34
	Mar	375	4.1	45.23	348	378	11 979	3 170	1 707	34
<b>DOORNS</b>	June	366	7.7	54.63	205	334	11 515	12 450	4 158	42
		366	8.0	51.02	201	373	11 825	11 156	6 006	60

KLOOF had a very good quarter despite the underground fire that occurred at the mine in May this year. Tonnage milled was 976 000, against the vious quarter's 424 000, but the grade was unchanged. Profit after tax and the State share was virtually unchanged at R29-million (R28,1-million).

Strikes at Kloof caused virtually a 100 percent stoppage on Monday.

The results of this will show up in the current quarter's figures.

DEELKRAAL was another mine with a good quarter. Tonnage milled increased to 335 000 (315 000) and the grade to 5,1 (4,7) gram/ton. Mr Fenton said it was hoped to increase the grade still further in the third quarter.

VENTERSPOST lifted its yield to 4,8 (4,1) percent on an un-

changed tonnage. The profit from gold was also better, but State aid decreased to R141 000 (R1-million), with the result that the profit after tax dropped to R2,9-million (R3,2-million).

DOORNFONTEIN could not maintain its grade because of lower average values prevailing in the underground workings.

Tonnage milled was maintained, but the lower grade led to a drop in gold production.

The result was that profit before tax was sharply lower.

There was, however, a sharp drop in tax so that after tax profits increased slightly.

VLAKFONTEIN's results was very little changed from those of the previous quarter. The mine showed an after-tax profit of R404 000, against the previous quarter's R385 000.

SWAZILAND SWAP COULD DIVIDE BLACKS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 5 Jul 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Ghastly to Contemplate"]

[Text]

**THE SECURITY** Police have sent an urgent telegram to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi telling him that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has requested an urgent meeting with him over the controversial Ingwavuma land issue.

If there is one political gift the Government has given Chief Buthelezi, the incredible mess-up over this issue was the best. Not only is Chief Buthelezi getting all the favourable publicity, and the opportunity to deliver his acid invective, he is also seen as the "good guy" in the controversy. Chief Buthelezi is also astute enough to use this golden gift to build his image and consolidate his strengths even further.

When it comes to the final horse-trading with P W Botha, he (Chief Buthelezi) will be in a position of strength.

The Government has mishandled this issue from the day that Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, astonished the world by announcing the excision of this part of SA to Swaziland.

In a way, it serves the Government right for its discourtesy in not consulting people in issues that directly involve them — a tactic they have used with arrogant insouciance for years. Chief Buthelezi can be congratulated from bringing them to heel in this fashion.

But what both Chief Buthelezi and the Swaziland government should not lose sight of is the fact that this muddle may lead to division between blacks — a thing that could have Pretoria laughing all the way. They should try by all means not to get blacks involved in a tribal battle that will be simply too ghastly to contemplate.

CSO: 4700/1544

WHITE, BLACK MINERS EQUALLY CONCERNED OVER PAY

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Jul 82 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text]

**THE PAY of all black workers on gold mines, collieries and some platinum mines will be increased from tomorrow, according to a notice from the Chamber of Mines.**

**That may sound like good news until you hear the appalling scales for black miners, underground and on the surface.**

**A statement issued by the Chamber of Mines Public Relations Department gives the new cash minimum starting rate for novice underground workers as R129 a month plus free board, lodging and other benefits estimated to be worth an additional R90 a month.**

**The new minimum starting rate for novice surface workers will be R100 a month. This, the report says, represents an increase of R10 or about eleven percent over the previous starting rate of R90 a month for novice surface workers.**

**This startling revelation about the abysmally low pay given to black mineworkers comes at a time when there are moves to improve their lot significantly, but it will take a long time for them to get a decent wage scale.**

**It also coincidentally happens that the Chamber is having talks with white unions on a new labour-relations structure that includes the relaxation of racial job bars — in**

other words, job reservation. Mining is the only major industry that still has statutory bars on black job advancement.

White miners are also preparing for a strike ballot over a wage dispute with the Chamber. The declaration of the dispute is usually the first step en route to a legal strike.

The plight of black workers on the mines has a long and painful history, confused and perhaps intensified by the fact that most if not all of these workers are foreigners from neighbouring states. They need the money, however minimal it is, and it has in fact been said that what they get on South African mines is more than what they would even dream of getting in their own countries.

Their trap is further tightened by the fact that there is a powerful white miners' union, which is most verkramp, to say the least. White miners are now fighting against improvement given to black workers

because they believe this is in conflict not only with the country's policies but with their financial interests.

The outgoing president of the Chamber said at the annual general meeting that whites on the mines were probably better off than employees in any other sector.

We have heard in fact that some white miners can get up to R2 000 a month, and even more, with some of the benefits involved in their specialised kind of work. The fact that black miners work in the same area, and perhaps even do more dangerous work than their white colleagues, makes their plight even more tragic. It does seem something of a shame for white workers to go up in arms when their pay is so many times more than the pittance blacks get. It is also a shame for the Chamber of Mines to allow this despicable situation to persist, however difficult the means for improvement may be.

CSO: 4700/1527

## SOUTH AFRICA

### NATAL FARMER SHOOTS TERRORISTS SOUGHT FOR SABOTAGE

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 pp 1,2

[Article: "Sabotage in Natal -- Young Farmer Shoots Two terrorists"]

[Text] Paulpietersburg -- Tuesday night, a young farmer from the district shot and killed two terrorists during an exchange of gunfire, after having given them a ride in his pick-up truck while they were hitch-hiking in the district.

Mr Phillip Scheepers (23 years old) recognized one of the terrorists, who was suspected of being a member of the gang of terrorists involved in the sabotage which took place in the district earlier last week, from a photograph he had seen on a television news report.

The story of the shooting was told yesterday to DIE BURGER by his father, Mr Jannie Scheepers, from the Hartland farm in the Paulpietersburg district.

The terrorists, Bheki Sam Mchunu (26 years old) and a companion, who has not been identified yet, had been on the run for more than a week.

Three other suspected terrorists, who were presumably involved in the attempted sabotage, were rounded up earlier this week by the police and are currently being held under the public safety act.

A fifth terrorist, Galokwe Thembinkosi Sithole (29 years old) from Nqutu near Dundee in Natal, is still free. He is roughly 1.67 meters tall, well-built and has a light complexion. He is probably armed and is considered extremely dangerous. People who have seen him or who can provide any information as to his whereabouts, are requested to get in touch immediately with the nearest police station.

#### On the Way

Mr Scheepers related that about half past ten on Monday evening he was on the way from town to his farm. Phillip and a friend, Danie Swanepoel, followed roughly 15 minutes later in a pick-up truck.

He saw the two black men along the road, where they were hitch-hiking, but he had driven past them.

Shortly before this, however, Phillip and Danie had been at the home of friends in town, where they had seen the suspected terrorists in a news program on television. The unarmed Phillip had recognized one of the men and stopped to ask where they were going.

The fact that the terrorists said they were heading for Comondale, but that they were not at all on the right way, further confirmed Phillip's suspicions, and he offered them a ride in the back of the pick-up truck.

Vanished

"My son wanted to bring the terrorists to our house in order to take them into custody there," said Mr Scheepers. "When he got home, he told them that they would have to wait a minute by the pick-up truck, while he asked me whether he could take them to Comondale."

However, the terrorists has suspected trouble, and when Phillip and his father returned, they had vanished.

The night watchman, who takes care of the farm store, saw what direction the terrorists had disappeared in. With Mr Scheepers and Danie in the cab of the pick-up truck and Phillip and the night watchman in the back, they went to look in the same direction.

After they had driven three times back and forth along the road in vain, Phillip told his father that the terrorists would probably just wait until they disappeared before coming out of their hiding place. Phillip then suggested that he and the night watchman jump off the pick-up truck while his father drove on. As luck would have it, they jumped off barely 15 meters away from the hiding place of the terrorists.

One of the terrorists had suddenly opened fire with his AK-47 and Phillip had to fall flat. "The Nkosana has been shot," the night watchman anxiously cried out and ran fast into the veld.

One of the terrorists had apparently heard him and lifted his head. Phillip started shooting with his R1 rifle and hit the terrorist with three bullets in the head.

His companion started firing back, but was hit.

The police arrived on the scene a few minutes later and found two AK-47 automatic rifles, two hand grenades, four magazines full of ammunition, roughly 5 kilograms of plastic explosives and several ANC pamphlets in their possession.

8463

CSO: 4701/92

## BRIEFS

GEC TRACTION ORDER--A R32-MILLION order for electrical equipment to be used in electric locomotives has been given to GEC Traction & Signal, a member of the GEC South Africa group, by South African Transport Services through the main contractor, Union Carriage & Wagon Company. The order is for 65 sets of traction equipment for 6E1 locomotives, to be supplied at the rate of five a month, starting during 1983 and continuing through to 1984. The order brings to 1 065 the total number of sets supplied by, or on order from, GEC Traction & Signal. The chairman of the company, Mr Don Nash, said that manufacture of the electrical equipment would be shared equally between GEC Traction & Signal's factory at Driehoek, Germiston, and GEC Traction Limited of Manchester, England. Mr Nash said: "GEC Traction & Signal is the only South African manufacturer of complete sets of electrical equipment for locomotives and motor coaches in the Republic, and the order ensures continuity of production at our Driehoek factory until the end of 1984. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 p 21]

CUBANS MUST GO--MR BOTHA said that South Africa was determined to stand firm on her demand that the Cuban presence in Angola be withdrawn before the South West African problem was settled. "We have made our point very clear that we are not standing in the way of South West Africa's independence," he said. "All we want is that all the peoples of South West Africa have the opportunity of expressing their will on the subject of its Government in an unbiased way and without intimidation or at gunpoint." South West Africa was a tremendous financial burden to South Africa and was costing the Republic hundreds of millions of rand a year. "And nobody is supporting us in carrying this heavy burden--or even easing it." But South Africa's attitude was that as long as there was a Cuban presence in Angola there was a threat--and she was now receiving open and outspoken support from some leaders in the United States. South Africa's military presence in South West Africa had been requested by the people of South West Africa--was a direct result of requests from leaders there. "We are prepared to leave if the people want it--other than Swapo. With the Minister of Foreign Affairs I recently discussed this very question with South West African leaders and asked them bluntly if they wanted us to leave. No one wanted it. We will stay there as long as we are required, with the matter to be considered on its merits." Of the Cubans he said: "We want to see them leaving to believe it. If one or two remain--they could always be kept to show future generations what Cubans look like. But the mass of Cubans must go. I don't mean only a dozen or so--their departure must be seen to be happening." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 p 3]

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2 August 1982

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2668

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2 August 1982

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G-2 SAID TO BE MOST EFFICIENT ELEMENT IN COUNTRY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Jun 82 pp 5, 7

[Article by Guenther Krabbe]

[Text] The "Fourth Independence"--A Moderate Police State  
a la Lusitania. Viera Attempts Detachment from Eastern Bloc.

Bissau, 28 June--The military secret service functions best of all. Nothing remains hidden from it, and it is even better than the political secret police. This statement comes from a Western diplomat in Bissau. In what was formerly Portuguese Guinea, the GDR has also taken over state security; its almost 50 years of uninterrupted experience goes back to the Gestapo. In Ethiopia and Mozambique, also, the GDR state security people have been successful. In Angola, they still have some catching up to do. In another African country, Somalia, they were so successful that the secret political police still functions exceedingly well, although President Siad Barre changed from Eastern to Western orientation 5 years ago, and expelled the GDR advisers. It appears as if Guinea-Bissau will also remain a police state, albeit Lusitanian moderate, even if the country has gained its fourth independence. The small country of 36,000 km<sup>2</sup>--approximately the area of North Rhine-Westphalia--has already undergone three kinds of independence. Its citizens are still not free. The fourth independence, also, will not yet mean democracy.

It all started on 24 September, 1973, when the news was spread that a people's congress had assembled in the liberated town of Madina do Boe, and had declared the independence of the overseas Portuguese province. Self-styled progressive forces everywhere, including the Western world, cheered this alleged victory of guerrilla fighters of the "African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands" (PAIGC) over the Portuguese colonial troops. This legend, put into circulation at the time by Communist supporters of PAIGC, is being nurtured and believed even today by otherwise enlightened German development aid volunteers in the country. Actually, there never was such a town. The hamlet of this name, consisting of one administrative building of stone and concrete and some twenty round adobe huts, had already been abandoned, destroyed and mined in 1971. If a PAIGC "people's congress" ever took place, then it definitely was not there. The entire Madina district is so infertile, uninviting and lonely that an attempt by the new government to establish a regional school for the children of semi-nomads was

abandoned as quickly as the plan to make Madina do Boe the capital of the country. The second, the real independence from Portugal, came only in 1974 as a result of the Lisbon revolution.

But Guinea-Bissau was not yet really independent. The state was a creation of PAIGC, a Marxist-Leninist "binational" party founded and directed by Cape Verdians: it was the monolithic state party of the new republics of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Bissau was ruled from Praia, the capital of Cape Verde. The president of Bissau was the Cape Verdian Luis Cabral; the party chief was the president of Cape Verde, Aristides Pereira. In the fall of 1980, Guinea-Bissau was to get a new constitution, under which unification of the two republics into one country was to take place, as planned under the Statute of PAIGC. This constitution provided that government power in Bissau would no longer be vested in a minister-president, but a president. Black Guineans would have lost the last chance for codetermination. Guinea-Bissau, for centuries a Portuguese colony, was in danger of becoming a possession of Cape Verde. Cape Verdians, like Luis Cabral, are mulattos, descendants of African slaves and Portuguese who centuries ago had ended up on these islands, a 1,000 km in the Atlantic. Even today, Cape Verdians feel that their ties are less with Africa than with Europe and America: more than 400,000 of them live there, and only 200,000 on the islands themselves. The 850,000 blacks in Guinea-Bissau felt themselves patronized, ignored and exploited by the mulattos. The new constitutional plan finally led to an uprising on the mainland. Minister-President Joao Bernardo Vieira, a brigadier general who had become popular under the alias "Nino" as a military leader of the guerrilla fight against Portugal, struck.

The army, although infiltrated by 300-500 Soviets, and some 30 Cuban instructors and advisers, obeyed the popular "Nino." Soldiers surrounded the Hotel "24th of September" in Bissau, where about 100 of these officers lived, and arrested Luis Cabral and other Cape Verdians. On 10 November 1980 Guinea-Bissau won its third independence, independence from the Cape Verde islands. A year later, Cabral was sent to Cuba in exile. In Praia there was talk about a coup d'etat. Pereira separated the Cape Verde section of the party from the mainland section, which is still called PAIGC in Bissau, PAICV in Cape Verde. The political boycott against Bissau was only revoked on Friday 2 weeks ago, when both countries exchanged ambassadors. After the coup, Vieira let a whole year pass before taking the next step. He had consolidated his power when, at the end of 1981, the party congress met in Bissau to decide on a new central committee and a new Politbureau. Since then it has been composed of half military, half civilian members. It was a decisive factor that the Nr. 3 man in the Politbureau slid down to Nr. 9: Vasco Cabral, namesake of the toppled president, the powerful minister of Economic Coordination and Planning.

This man had worked diligently to make Guinea-Bissau into the same dismal and poverty-stricken people's democracy as Mozambique and Angola, which had also emerged from the same Portuguese colonial rule. The Ministry of Economic Planning was the key position. Among his helpers, strangely enough, were German development aid volunteers from "Dienst in Uebersee" [Service Abroad]. Evidently they, and their home office, were not familiar with Vasco Cabral's political background as one of the closest collaborators of Alvaro Cunhal,

chief of the Portuguese Communist Party aligned with Moscow. Those aid volunteers are still there, but Vasco Cabral has lost his position, and probably also his influence. This happened suddenly a month ago. Vieira, by now chief of state, head of the party and of the government, had it announced over the radio that he had reshuffled the government. He had neither asked, nor even informed, the "Revolutionary Council," supposedly the highest government organ, the Central Committee, or the party Politbureau. He obviously had a very good reason, since all three bodies, besides the "nationalists," still contain powerful communist groups with excellent ties to the Soviet "advisers." Even the secret police knew nothing of Vieira's plan. His gamble worked. The communists were taken by surprise; the ministers who were dismissed, reassigned or newly appointed only learned about the decision on the radio; and the army continued backing its "Nino."

The new cabinet list is being interpreted in Bissau as a further important step towards the fourth independence of the country, independence from the Soviet Union. Cabral lost his ministry but retains the decorative title of a "secretary of the Central Committee" and is allowed to participate in cabinet meetings. Other communists have disappeared from the scene. Vitor Freire Monteiro, a technocrat and, until now, governor of the Central Bank, is the new economics minister. Former Foreign Minister Vitor Saude Maria became minister-president and sees to it that the new foreign minister, Samba Lamine Mane, carries out a pragmatic, not dogmatic, foreign policy. The party stands insignificantly in the background. Above it is the government headed by "Nino" Vieira, who can rely fully on the army's support.

This army is still completely equipped with Soviet arms, remnants from the fight for independence which had been supported especially by the Eastern bloc. But it will not stay this way. As early as January, Vieira started to inquire among other ambassadors about the "possibility of military cooperation": Portugal, France, Brazil, Algeria and China. He did not wish to "expand the exclusive cooperation with the Soviet Union and Cuba," he stated, "in order to be more independent." France, to begin with, donated 50 passenger cars of simple design for the army. Brazil and the other countries have not yet made a decision. Portugal has cautiously taken up military aid. Officers come from Lisbon for a few days at a time, in order to assist in the establishment of military administration. The direction in which Vieira is steering can be seen from his order of early June: military badges and ranks patterned after Cuban examples will be abolished; "because the people are more familiar with them," the old Portuguese types will be reintroduced; instead of "comandante," a colonel is again a "coronel"; instead of Soviet stars, stripes will again decorate epaulets.

9917

CSO: 4720/14

PRESIDENT MOI'S SPEECH ON SELF-RULE DAY

Nairobi MSETO in Swahili 6 Jun 82 pp 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8

[Lead article by MSETO reporter: "KANU Be Alert--Moi"; text of speech by President Moi on the occasion of 19th anniversary of Kenya's gaining internal self-rule]

[Text] President Danial arap Moi this week authorized the branches of KANU, the ruling party, to be alert to judge those intending to disturb the peace in the country.

President Moi gave this authorization while addressing a crowd of citizens in Nairobi at the celebration of the 19th year since this country gained internal self-rule.

President Moi took this opportunity to sharply scold people who are not content who call themselves "revolutionaries" and he advised them to use their efforts to help build up the nation rather than to stir up the citizens.

He warned that he will not hesitate to take severe measures against those who intend to cause disturbances, even if they are members of parliament, and he wants citizens to help in this effort. Also, President Moi warned university students not to think of themselves as better than others in the country. He warned that the government spends much money each year to run the university and therefore the students should remember their studies with determination.

The complete text of President Moi's speech given on the occasion of the celebration of Self-Rule Day follows:

Kenyans, My Friends,

At this time of celebration of the holiday commemorating 19 years of self-rule I greet all Kenyans, both in the country and away. The greeting is not out of a necessity of the celebrations, rather it is a message from a cheerful heart fully discovering that we are all together to remember the uprightness and development of our nation. We have this thought, it is the same to say that, although this is a day for celebration, this time is also to be used in a peaceful way.

Thus, we must always remember that there were many people who gave their lives before self-rule was proclaimed. This can be seen as normal. But it is useful for us to remember that, while I am giving this speech today and while you are celebrating, about 60 percent of the people of Kenya were not born before the beginning of self-rule on the first of June 1963. Thus, these youth, who indeed are many in the country, do not know the truth concerning what went on before self-rule. Because of this, it is important that those among you who have the information about those former days make useful programs to make sure that the youth are instructed on the efforts which were made by Kenyans to get democracy and freedom of our nation. These efforts absolutely must not be forgotten. I would like to say that I am grieved when I see that our youth seem not to respect the order of the government and democracy they are enjoying, and which have their foundation in the rule of law and respect for the rights of man. Our freedom which remembers democracy to protect and extend the rights of man must not be scorned. All these things, therefore, must be fully remembered in everything we do.

It is because of things like this that the day of self-rule, as I have said, must be a day on which we as a nation must take a careful look at events of the past, present, and future. We must make sure that we learn from those things which have already happened and those which are happening now and prepare ourselves for those things which will happen. Moreover, this is a business which must be carried out uprightly and in a manner which reminds us of the true meaning of self-rule. Today, like the last time, I will follow the customary plan; and, to do this, I remind you that, during the last few years, I have debated with many of you concerning our skills to be relevant in the future. Today I will talk about two questions which we must keep in mind while we continue to strengthen our patriotism and prosperity in the aims we seek.

The first question I want to discuss with you today is that of preparing our youth for their duties in the future. Our youth, young men and young women, whatever they do and wherever they are, are very important. The future of our nation depends on uprightness and how they understand the nation today and its needs and how they give of themselves to arrive at these needs with honesty and effort. This means that, for these youth to be able to confront their duties as they must, their education must continue to be watched with care.

And to do this, we have to understand that this education for the youth comes from two directions. First, there is the normal education in school, the trade schools, the universities and other places of education. The second place where education is found is that in which parents and family as a unit fulfill an important responsibility.

Now there is no doubt that, as far as the program of ordinary education is concerned, our country has developed a long way since we took over the rule of the country. There has been much growth in primary and secondary schools, in trade schools, in technology schools and other institutions of higher education, including the university itself. I do not want to give you a lot of numbers without reason, but from time to time it is important to mention the numbers themselves. In 1963 we had 891,553 students but now we have about 4.3 million. In the secondary schools in 1963, we had 30,000 students, and now we have more

than half a million. As for the university, it must be remembered that in 1963 we did not have a university of our own, but we were a section of the University of East Africa. Even so, the total number of students in the University of Nairobi at that time was 375 and now the number of students in this university, along with those of Kenyatta College, is 8,800. Besides this, great development has been made in adding to and expanding the trade schools throughout the country. Now we have colleges of agriculture distinct from that of Egerton, technical colleges in the villages, national technical colleges in the cities of Nairobi and Mombasa, and study programs for vacation time which are set up by the Ministry of Workers and the Government Workers Planning Department.

Concerning government services, the educational system uses a larger sum of money in government budget estimates. When the work training programs and other efforts put out are considered, it is evident that this nation uses the larger portion of its revenue for education. One thing that is very clear in these efforts is the great chorus of citizens themselves cooperating with the government to enhance and expand the education system. The efforts of Harambee have been very important in the expansion of education in the primary and secondary schools. There were many openings in the secondary schools and they are helped by people in the area where these schools are. This willingness for great cooperation between the citizens and the government is one of the important sources of success in spreading the development to all. It is a willingness which was bragged about in the past. Today I want to stress that it is a willingness that will be needed even more in the years ahead.

The numbers that I gave you concerning our development in education are intended to show the important efforts that we as a nation continue to make in preparing the youth for their later responsibilities. But although we can rejoice and even brag about the expansion of the education system, I am not sure that we have thought more about the education that children get from their parents and society as a whole. The kind of education I am talking about here is about our customs, the efforts to deliver our country and to work at our responsibilities to society, the importance and dignity of manual labor, the importance of obedience to the nation and how it should be shown and implemented, the meaning and importance of discipline, etc. As I said here at the beginning, I am grieved at the way it is apparent that our youth do not respect our system of democracy, fortitude and remembering of the rights of man here in Kenya. When I see this, I hear myself saying that we are not doing enough to teach the youth the way that has to be done to prepare them for their important responsibilities in the years to come. And as I said last labor day, this is a responsibility which we, especially parents, must remember very thoughtfully.

I would like to add that in teaching the youth we must not hesitate to remember the necessary discipline. In other words, there is a saying that "He who fears his child's crying will cry himself." Although cruelty and poor use of discipline are not needed and can be a danger, severe steps must be taken when it is necessary. And I am not only talking about primary and secondary school here, I am also talking about students in the university and other colleges. A few days ago some of these students showed disrespect and barbarism. For all this, these students are taken care of well by the nation, especially when compared with the way Kenyan students in foreign countries are treated. I said before

that the number of students in the University of Nairobi is 8,800. But we also must know that this number would be larger if we had the money and resources because there are many Kenyans who have finished their schooling and try to attend the university but by bad luck they cannot be accepted because of a lack of openings. Many parents confronted with this problem have held back much so that they can send their children to study in other countries. These parents must pay much money, often being helped by collections made by friends and family, while the youth concerned have to accept many troubles while they are living in foreign countries. Thus, those youth who are lucky enough to get into the University of Nairobi must recognize that they are very lucky and they must not waste this opportunity.

Now if we think about this question, if we remember especially the number of Kenyans who have completed secondary school and are able to apply to the university but are not accepted because of lack of an opening and because of the huge cost of sending the youth to study in a foreign country, we must look for various ways to reduce this problem. And one way to do it is to begin programs where those students who are lucky to be accepted at the University of Nairobi will be asked to pay a little more for their education so that the university can be expanded and have more openings for more Kenyans. A plan like this must be prepared carefully so that those who truly cannot pay are helped. But the ability to pay must not be a requisite for entering the university.

Such things cause me grief, as I said before, when I see some students here in Kenya with characters which show that they are not aware of their true situation and the condition which confronts this nation as a whole. Thus, I repeat that we must take sufficient steps to make sure that our youth are fully prepared for their future responsibilities. And in these preparations it is important for the youth to understand these responsibilities I am talking about. Also I want to emphasize that we will not put up with a lack of discipline, vagrancy, and cheating in our colleges of education and training. Moreover, I want to explain openly that we will not allow a few people who think of themselves as revolutionaries, who advance foreign influence, to stir up our education and training programs. Why, what kind of revolution do they want? Can they not see the true revolution that is going on in Kenya--that is, the great efforts to make development flourish for all?

And to the youth of Kenya, I want to say a few more words. First, they must stop thinking that they know everything. They must be concerned with those things they understand before entering into those things they do not understand. Second, they must learn that, without understanding well their country, its history, society, customs, aims and the economic problems that stand in its way and its difficulties with development, they will have no foundation. Unfortunately, books and movies from so-called developed countries are corrupting our youth. The youth of Kenya must first understand that they are Kenyans, they must brag that they are Kenyans, that their later life is tied in with this country. They must also understand that their parents gave themselves as a sacrifice to fight for the independence of this country and that there is no nation which can be built on nonsense, on the use of intoxicating drugs, on not having pity for and thinking about the less fortunate among the masses, on not respecting parents, and on following the garbage of foreign influences. The youth of Kenya must

also recognize that their ability to use foreign languages and to do difficult computations does not make them leaders or give them the wisdom to change their society. Instead of that, it would be useful for them to use this ability as an important implement in learning how to be a true Kenyan, in preparing themselves to be of service to Kenya, and in defending our nation against the corrupting influences of foreign countries.

These are the things I wanted to emphasize today about this important matter. The government will continue with its efforts to expand the education system and to make a plan that will be better able to stick to the needs of the country. Concerning this, I want the nation to know that the whole education system, from primary school through university, is being looked at and perhaps it will force a large change to be made soon.

Kenyans, my friends, another thing that I want to talk about today is that which I touched on a little concerning the importance for the citizens and the government cooperating in the efforts of development. While we are celebrating Self-Rule Day this year, let us remember that it is the willingness of sacrifice for your country and the unity of all Kenyans which enabled us to seize our independence, not just great difficulties and many problems. In those years, we recognize that to rely on oneself and give oneself as sacrifice were important in seizing our independence.

Our nation must be developed with great effort which must be given, as in the time of fighting for independence, honestly and in the resolve of self-sacrifice. When I was talking on education here earlier, I pointed out how the citizens themselves helped to advance education by their own voluntary efforts. Now I want to emphasize that the efforts of the individual people along with the efforts of unity in the spirit of Harambee, will continue to be the foundation of the development of our nation.

Unfortunately, from time to time you will see in some section of our country people expecting the government to do everything for the development of the economy and society. But the truth is that, even if the government would establish factories, schools, health stations and build roads, there would be very few things which could be carried out to improve our economy if the citizens themselves do not work hard at their affairs, especially farming. There are some sections of this country where there could be great development of the economy and the society, and many opportunities for work are available, if the citizens will recognize the need to work hard on their farms. The development of our nation must come from the citizens themselves while the government gives help. This does not mean that the government is abandoning its responsibilities to help the efforts of the citizens in all the affairs of the economy. But the meaning of development is development of the citizens and thus the citizens themselves must be made to share completely, as individuals and as a whole.

Moreover, in 1978, I told the nation that it is the small efforts and there is no need for vast programs carried out by the government, that all as a whole show where we have arrived in advancing our development aims. This is still true today. And so I ask the citizens in every section of this country not to

wait for the government to start up the development. Instead, they must carry it out themselves. And as for the government officials, I want to say again that we want actions, not just empty words.

This will continue to be the foundation of our program for development. Also, useful steps will be taken to make sure that the government workers, especially in the farm areas, remember the efforts of development and that they do their work with cooperation and good systems. Here it is necessary for them to change their ideas. The government workers in these areas must understand that they are servants of the people and not their overlords. Moreover, the government workers must not use the time and money of the masses traveling around the districts and regions like tourists. The government workers must work shoulder to shoulder with the citizens in all their efforts at development. And the citizens themselves must not put up with officials who are corrupt or are not carrying out their duties as they should. People like these must be revealed, and no person must fear that he will be persecuted if he gives information about officials like those. He will be protected completely, while it is clear that the corrupt one will be punished as should be done. We as a nation must recognize the importance of discipline in all places and in all our affairs. Under the influence of Nyayo, discipline is the foundation of everything.

Kenyans, my friends, I want to conclude my speech today by saying a little about the state of the economy as it confronts us in total. And to do this I want to remind you that I believe in telling the truth, and I try to see that the citizens are not kept from any of the truth. Expressly, it is my firm intention to make sure that the matters that confront us are discussed with the citizens themselves, since they are represented in the parliament.

The first thing I want to say is that we as a nation absolutely must not make light of the problems of the economy that are in front of us. The situation continues to be difficult, very much because of the economic problems of the world, and the continuing rise in the price of goods we must buy from other countries. Because of that, we have problems with many things, this along with giving sufficient opportunities for work, and getting foreign funds to help our development plans. Even so, we absolutely must take useful steps to confront these problems. As I said before, the important thing we must do is understand exactly the situation of our problems; then we solve these problems and, if we remember we have been united through volunteerism, we will win. As one example, I remind you that 2 years ago we were confronted with a great problem of a shortage of food. I called on the citizens of Kenya to make more efforts to increase the food supply while I made useful efforts to add to whatever food we had by ordering food from other countries. Today I am happy to say that we have no problem of food. The people of Kenya answered my call in the true spirit of volunteerism.

Those things we have done in this important area must be made clear to any person who doubts that our economy is flourishing and that the citizens have been busy preparing for their future, that he is twisted. And I say this because, unfortunately, there are a few twisted people in the country who remember backward ideas and use their time looking for mistakes instead of making meaningful proposals. If you see anyone with ideas like that and who has to cast blame for

whatever problem is facing us, you know clearly that he is not a follower of Nyayo. As the Bible says, you must be on your guard against the jackals who come claiming that they are sheep. Fortunately, those corrupt people are few, and we know who they are. We believe in remembering the law and protecting and extending the rights of man. And as we continue to stay with our customs of fortitude, truth and democracy, we must not allow these important customs to be used by a few people to bring about a separation in our nation. Thus, we will continue to be alert and prepared for whatever steps are needed to make our development flourish and to strengthen our nation.

These are a few things, Kenvans, my friends, that I wanted to talk to you about. And when you return to your home, and when you prepare to make more efforts for the development of our nation, continue to stay under Nyayo's influence of honesty, love and unity.

I will see many of you during the visits I am considering making in various areas of the country just after finishing my duties as chairman of the Organization of African Unity. And when I visit in your location or district, I will be amazed to see the true efforts to bring development to the economy and society. I repeat that the influence of Nyayo demands deeds, not empty words. Each one of you should be led by these influences, in all your affairs.

Harambee [Self-help]!!! Nyayo [In the Footsteps of Kenyatta]!!!

9216

CSO: 4749/37

CALL FOR AFRICAN-ARAB COOPERATION

Nairobi MSETO in Swahili 6 Jun 82 p 5

[Text] The committee for carrying out the Great Meeting of Arabs and Africans has the pleasure of celebrating Africa Day, 25 May 1982, and having the African Peoples fight for their independence and development and against imperialism, Zionism and opposition to development.

We want to remind you of the importance of the cooperation between the Arabs and the Africans, without forgetting the announcement of the Great Meeting of Arabs and Africans held in Luanda, Angola, in December 1981. That meeting was held under the watchwords: "Palestine, Namibia and South Africa are the true roots of the fight of Africans and Arabs." The announcement of Luanda made firm the unity of the African and Arab fight and the need for unified efforts in opposing imperialism, Zionism and opposition to development.

On Africa Day, we salute the battle of the People of Africa and their groups fighting against the enemies of unity. We want to remind you of the importance of the cohesion between the Arabs and Africans, for this cohesion is the only way to save the Africans and Arabs from the problems in front of them.

To help the people of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa are the very important roots in the fight and the sign of its truth.

And now because the enemy, Zionism, continues to occupy the land of other Arab countries and also continues to oppose the violence of the whole world and to warn that hostility [violence] is the way for the people of Palestine to seize their rights to return to their homeland and to set up their own free government under the leadership of the PLO, the legal and only Party. It is also the way for making the City of Jerusalem [Bayt al-Muqaddas] and the Golan Heights part of their country. The Government of Zaire's cooperation with Israel is a dangerous action, not because it is an action against brotherhood and the cooperation between the Africans and Arabs, but because it is an action that was done under the burden of imperialism, Zionism and segregation.

The announcement of Luanda said in its fifth section that the fights of the Africans and the Arabs are one and the same. Thus, the tricks of the enemies should not be allowed to ruin the unity of action or weaken the cooperation that now exists between the Africans and Arabs.

Thus, the committee for carrying out the Great Meeting of Africans and Arabs calls on all the forces of patriotism, democracy and progressiveness in Africa and the whole world to censure the Government of Zaire for this action which has no redeeming value. It adds to segregation and hostility and it does some violence to the relationship of common roots and fighting that exists between the Africans and Arabs.

We want to remind the people of Africa and the Arab countries that, right now, enemies want to make sure that the Africans and Arabs follow the Policy of Camp David so that they have a chance to carry out this Policy everywhere in the African and Arab countries. To do so is of great value to imperialism, Zionism and those who oppose development.

Up with the fight of the People of Palestine, Namibia, and South Africa.

Up with the fight of Africans and Arabs for the sake of political and social freedom.

Down with the governments of the colonialists, the segregationists, and those who oppose development.

(Signed) Committee for the Carrying Out of the Great Meeting of Arabs and Africans

9216

CSO: 4749/37

## SINGLE-PARTY SYSTEM PRAISED

Nairobi MSETO in Swahili 6 Jun 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Single-Party Democracy"]

[Text] In recent days, there have been hectic campaigns by some politicians wanting to oppose the one-party system in this country.

The concern of these bitter [wenye siasa kali] politicians is that the single-party system covers up the desires of the citizens. These politicians contend that many parties make for "true" democracy.

This campaign to oppose the single-party system in the end was the reason the main committee of the ruling party KANU met under the leadership of the wise and honorable President Daniel arap Moi in the parliament building. Among the decisions made at that meeting, which was a complete success, is the step, enthusiastically supported by the citizens and the leaders, to remove from the KANU Party the likes of Oginga Odinga and George Anyona.

The KANU Party committee decided that the behavior of those driven out of the party was not in line with the aims and desires of the ruling party.

Many Western nations have failed to understand the importance of the one-party system in such African countries as Kenya. These nations are the ones that charge from time to time that the single-party system is like a dictatorship. These nations contend that the multiparty system makes for democratic compromises in the government.

The bitter politicians in this country have made these strong demands and warnings for the establishment of other parties in the country.

Before looking into the advantages and disadvantages of many parties, there are a few things that must be given great importance. In the first plan of those who fight for the establishment of another party or parties, they will tell you they want to do or finish whatever more than is being accomplished now by the ruling KANU Party.

It is evident that, as we said in our issue of 21 March 1982, this ruling party of the government has done a great deal of work to unite all the citizens in

government, in the economy and in society and made firm, hopeful foundations on which to grow.

The second thing that has to be noted is the importance of good government in countries which are flourishing. As we know, the political parties in flourishing countries should be as a line in front advancing development plans and sharing these plans with the citizens. This is just what is being done by the ruling KANU Party now. Our country is among the flourishing nations in the world. The things needed by flourishing countries are development movements for the use of every citizen instead of political arguments.

We believe that if there were many political parties in this country the aims of carrying out development plans will be made light of because politicians will use much of their time in political arguments. Without a doubt, this kind of thing was seen when this country had more than one party.

Again, it needs to be understood that, at that time (before independence), this country had reason to have several political parties. I mean we were fighting for independence. Now we are independent and we want to fight for development more in this country and also strengthen the faith and unity of the whole nation.

Those who think that a government with only one party cannot be democratic are very mistaken. The Boer Government in South Africa has several parties, but who in the world does not know of the disgraceful segregation of color in that country.

This example is sufficient to shut out any idea of wanting other parties in this country.

Every citizen knows that the Government of Kenya has a more democratic leadership than many governments in the world having many parties. In Kenya, we have a better way of getting the desires of the people to the government than using the service of opposition parties.

This plan begins in the councils of the villages and the districts where the councilors, who are chosen by the citizens themselves, meet and discuss all the important matters concerned with the development of the citizens. These councils make decisions and judge important matters without the intervention of the central government. Beyond that, we have a better system of judges to settle the disputes of the citizens.

Also, we cannot forget the tools of the newspapers which make the demands of the citizens heard by the government very deliberately. There are many workers parties with various clubs which are agents of the citizens' demands. With all of this, what need is there for many parties to carry out the development?

9216

CSO: 4749/37

RETURN OF MONJA JAONA FROM CHINA REPORTED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 21 May 82 pp 1, 4

[Text] A Monja Jaona radiant with health received journalists yesterday in the VIP room at Ivato international airport upon his return from Paris and the People's Republic of China.

Welcoming banners ("Manalans azo avy roa batsimo lia raike") brightened the airport and "bekos" sang his praises. Activists and associates of the leader of MONIMA [National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar] Ka Miviombio had come to welcome him, and the police were barely able to restrain the crowd of several hundred thousand enthusiasts. MONIMA K.M. activists sang songs of national struggle as their leader arrived.

A Congress

Monja Jaona, Supreme Revolutionary Councillor and dean of the CSR [Supreme Revolutionary Council], agreed to talk with the press, which turned out in large numbers, to say--among other things--that his trip was for reasons of health rather than politics; that he received satisfactory care from Chinese specialists; and that MONIMA will hold a congress soon this year. He also confirmed the "leak" of a letter classified as a "state secret" in which he commented on the "critical situation in Madagascar, especially in the north."

A Trip For Health Reasons

Our colleague Latimer Rangers asked the first question among those of our colleagues of the private and especially the foreign press, who were pressing around Monja Jaona and asking him about his trip.

"I was ill," answered Monja Jaona, "and President Ratsiraka sent me to China for treatment. All the Chinese doctors have contributed so well to the recovery of my good health, with the aid of specialists, that I recovered very quickly.

I want to thank the president, who took this initiative. The Chinese interpreted this as a sign of confidence."

Reading a report about his trip, he explained his itinerary. He spent a week in Paris at the Embassy of Madagascar. His trip, which lasted a month and a

half, was for health reasons, not political reasons. On 7 April he left Paris for Peking, where he arrived on 9 April and spent 2 weeks. His reception there was satisfactory. During 10 days of visiting, he observed that the Chinese are really progressing toward socialism. Monja Jaona paid formal visits to Chinese leaders: to the vice president of the Chinese Communist Party, to the head of the department of foreign relations of the Chinese Communist Party, and to the deputy minister of health. Bilateral relations were discussed during these visits.

#### Chinese Mentality

Asked what he liked best about the Chinese mentality, Monja Jaona made the following remarks:

"The Chinese are real socialists. There are a billion of them, and not one wears tattered clothes; there are no beggars haunting the streets, and everyone has enough to eat. We calculate that the Chinese eat as much in 3 days as we would need for a year! They know how to be solidary and disciplined. They are hospitable and not bellicose. They bring their children up to love their country. All the Chinese are soldiers and patriotic peasants."

#### Elections, the North

Asked if presidential elections will be discussed at the next MONIMA congress, Monja Jaona replied that MONIMA will soon hold a congress in Toliars. This will be a "regular congress" and its dates will be made public later. All journalists are invited to attend, so they will not become the victims of hearsay. "I am a party man, and our position on the presidential elections will emerge from this congress."

As for events in the north, the leader of MONIMA answered: "This matter was the subject of a letter to the joint council of state. It was decided that the letter would be a "state secret," but it was made public by JEUNE AFRIQUE. "In this letter, I proposed a solution to this affair, but someone tried to stop its implementation. However, there are no problems without solutions."

Regarding his "Paris press conference," Monja Jaona answered that this was simply untrue: he did not hold a press conference in Paris; rather, journalists followed him everywhere. "In Madagascar, we don't wash our dirty linen in public," he said. "We do it at home."

One journalist mentioned a patriotic song sung at Monja Jaona's arrival which speaks of a "piteous Madagascar." MONIMA's leader replied that this was an old song, but in fact Madagascar is more and more to be pitied. MONIMA has submitted four books containing complaints and solutions to the government. The fourth even mentions the way the dehalo are being strangled. Monja Jaona stated that these are "organized thefts."

Summing up, the leader of MONIMA Ka Mibiombio, Supreme Councillor of the Revolution and dean of the CSR said he received a satisfactory reception and satisfactory care in the PRC and concluded the meeting by thanking "(his) journalist friends."

## FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SUCCESSION PREDICTION

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 12, 9 Jun 82 pp 5-8

[Article: "Malawi: The Waiting Game"]

[Text]

The standard question in Malawian affairs is what will happen when President **Kamuzu Banda** dies. During the past year, speculation on the matter in Malawi has become significantly more open, although more complex since some of those conventionally regarded as strong candidates for the presidential succession appear to be in increasingly ambivalent positions. Then apart from the long-term problem of feeding 6m people (the population growth rate is about 2.5%, 0.5% less than the average of its neighbours) from a small already productive land area, there are also two pressing economic-cum-political problems:—

- 1) The inability of the Mozambican ports of Nacala and Beira to handle Malawian exports and imports, and the inefficiency of Mozambican management of the railways.
- 2) Malawi's close relations with South Africa and the consequent difficulty of a) establishing workable relations with Mozambique and Zimbabwe and b) remaining aloof from the activities of the South African-backed *Mozambique National Resistance* (MNR) movement.

### The succession stakes

Past speculation on likely successors has proved notoriously inaccurate. In early 1977, it will be recalled, **Albert Muwalo Nqumayo**, then secretary-general of the ruling *Malawi Congress Party* (MCP), was convicted with Special Branch director, **Focus Martin Gwede**, of plotting to assassinate President Banda. Three years later **Aleke Banda**, the president's confidant and manager of *Press Holdings* (Malawi's largest private company, owned almost entirely by the president) who had assumed the mantle as the most likely presidential candidate, was dismissed and placed under house arrest. At the end of last year **Bakili Muluzi**, secretary-general of the MCP, was demoted to minister of transport and communications. Last month he retired from the post and is now out of political life altogether. Recently the chairmen of most parastatal

organisations have also been dismissed or shuffled.

The return to Malawi of **Orton Chirwa**, leader of the banned opposition *Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo)*, in controversial circumstances on Christmas eve last year, has now further complicated political equations. After leaving Malawi in 1964 he was based in Dar es Salaam. There are then a number of versions about events leading up to his return:—

1) Chirwa wrote to Banda saying that he wanted to return to Malawi to spend his last years in his native land. Banda was then successfully persuaded by European friends to reply to Chirwa in fairly conciliatory terms. After further correspondence, perhaps at times channelled through western diplomatic intermediaries, it was tacitly understood that Chirwa would be allowed back, discreetly and without fanfare. He then left Dar for Lusaka, where his wife, Vera lectured at the university. Shortly before Christmas he drove with his wife and son to Chipata and from there to the Mchinji border crossing, where he understood that he would be taken discreetly, on the strength of the "arrangements" he had made with Banda, to a safe house somewhere in Malawi.

2) Chirwa was determined to return to Malawi in almost any event. It was arranged with his *Mafremo* colleagues inside Malawi, possibly with some help from the **Zambian Special Branch**, that he would be secretly infiltrated into Malawi before triumphantly announcing himself in the hope that Malawians would rally to his support.

3) Chirwa and his family went to Chipata to reconnoitre a clandestine return to Malawi. Tipped off by **Zambians**, the **Malawian Special Branch** abducted him from Zambia.

What is fairly certain is that having spent several weeks in detention he was transferred with his family to a house, probably somewhere in the central region. According to close associates, the Chirwas were treated well in comfortable surroundings. In April there were unconfirmed but independent reports that he had been seen in his home town of Mzimba (Chirwa is a Tonga) in the northern region and that he had been taken with an official escort on a tour of Malawi. (One report referred to a Police Mobile Unit escort). If these reports are broadly true, Chirwa must have been pardoned by Banda.

There are a number of deductions and partially confirmed reports to support this thesis: a) it is unlikely that Chirwa would have taken his wife and son to Malawi unless he had been assured of safety once there — it is unconceivable that *Mafremo* could have smuggled him back without Malawian security soon finding out b) shortly after his arrest we understand that Banda called a cabinet meeting to discuss the episode. Unconfirmed reports say that **John Ngwiri**, who as secretary to the cabinet is closely involved with Special Branch affairs, received presidential rebuke for Chirwa's highly publicised arrest c) as a former minister of justice and attorney-general, Chirwa is one of the few Malawian politicians educated to a standard of Banda's liking d) it is not uncharacteristic of Banda to be magnanimous on rare occasions — the gist being that Banda would have the satisfaction of showing his former, long-exiled colleague how successfully Malawi had developed in his absence. And e) nor is it

uncharacteristic of Banda to confound those who see themselves as presidential successors.

It is conceivable that **Banda** has longer-term plans for Chirwa, a possibility that clearly irks some of Banda's close but insecure associates. Since opposition leaders are usually threatened with being shot on sight, reincarnating Chirwa could take several years. But a public rapprochement between Chirwa and Banda should not be discounted.

Together with Ngwiri, conventional analysis has for several years placed **John Tembo**, governor of the *Malawi Reserve Bank* since its establishment 11 years ago, in the forefront of the succession stakes. Widely believed to be most influential over the security services, he is also uncle to **Cecilia Kadzimir**, Banda's constant companion and assistant. Earlier this year **Tom Clausen**, president of the *World Bank*, is believed to have suggested during his visit to Malawi that Tembo should make way for a younger successor better trained in economics. (The governorship term is 10 years. So far Tembo does not appear to have been officially mandated to have another term). **Madinga**, executive director of the *Malawi Development Corporation* and former accountant-general, was mentioned as a possible governor. Unfortunately he was killed shortly after when his car collided with a police van.

Apart from the Tembo-Ngwiri-Kadzimir trio, whose fortunes may have been diminished by the Chirwa episode and his apparent rehabilitation, there are four cabinet members of rising acclaim: a) **Dick Matenje**, secretary-general of the MCP, who, together with b) **Louis Chimango**, minister of local government and former dean of the university school of law and public administration, is regarded as the best educated cabinet member c) **Aaron Gadama**, minister for the central region — a popular figure, in sharp contrast to his predecessor and d) **Edward Bwanali**, minister for the southern region, an equally popular figure, although regarded by some as too pleasant to be of presidential making.

By all accounts Banda is remarkably fit for his 82 (?) years. From his state house overlooking Blantyre he continues, with few lapses, to oversee in detail all important documents and propositions produced by the civil service and institutions. No major decisions are made by anybody else. In an immediate post-Banda period it is thus questionable whether the all-pervasive power vacuum could be filled smoothly. It would certainly require much power distribution — a process that could clearly be fraught with personal rivalry within the MCP machine, and between the MCP and parliament, which at present is a complete rubber-stamp body.

The overriding popular expectation of a thoroughly new regime would probably force Banda's successor to at least initially try to make parliament far more representative of what would

rapidly become a less tame electorate. But parliament is now so atrophied that it would be difficult to use it in the crucial year or so after Banda's death to assuage popular opinion. In March last year the constitution was amended to allow Banda to nominate as many MPs as he wants. According to the latest count, parliament now consists of 107 MPs of which 12 are cabinet ministers and 38 presidentially nominated MPs. Of the 32 women MPs, 24 are nominated. There are 15 vacant seats. Since all candidate MPs are subject to presidential vetting, the proportion of nominated MPs (including cabinet ministers) to theoretically independent MPs, is immaterial.

On the positive side, the security services and armed forces could be expected to stay largely aloof from all but the most serious post-Banda infighting. (The Special Branch is a possible exception because of its inherently political mandate). The army commander, Maj. Gen. **Melvin Maluda Khanga** (a Chewa, he was trained in Britain) runs a highly disciplined and efficient four-battalion force. Designed largely as a mobile counter-insurgency unit, it has such recent equipment as the Blow-pipe SAM. The police commissioner, **Mac Kamwana** (Chewa) too runs a fairly well disciplined body.

Also positive is the relative absence of tribal or religious antagonisms. The only significant tension is between Tumbuka people (usually Presbyterian) from the north and the populous Chewa people (usually Catholic) of the central region. The Tumbuka unquestionably hold a disproportionate number of senior civil service posts. Apart from Banda's broad policy of often distributing posts equally between tribal groups, irrespective of proportional representation, there are varied reasons for this "Tumbuka factor". (One analysis suggests that the Tumbuka tradition of aspiring husbands having to accumulate wealth before marriage gives Tumbuka males an important incentive to work hard). Conversely, in some key areas, such as security, Chewa appointments prevail. (Banda is generally regarded as Chewa, although it is possible that his parents were in fact Ngoni (a predatory tribe) and migrated south into Chewa territory). And Chichewa is now well established as the *lingua franca*.

Harder to assess is the extent of popular frustration with the regime. In the absence of significant food shortages<sup>1</sup>, unrest is directed at the overpowering mechanism of the MCP and the Calvinistic rigour of Banda's strictly applied ideas, including his conviction that classical education (exemplified in the European-staffed and elitist Kamuzu Academy), despite its alienism from African cultural and educational tradition, is essential for the country's future. Certainly educated young Malawians (it is now hard for secondary school

leavers to get jobs) have become fairly open in criticism of the system. However, so far unemployment has not posed a serious problem. Rural-to-urban migration has started, but a policy of developing smaller rural towns and of giving productivity incentives to small farmers, promises to keep unemployment manageable.

The MCP is one of the most embracing parties in Africa. Operating through the usual system of local, area, district and regional committees, the MCP hopes to soon have the membership of 75% of the population. We understand that the present 50 tambala annual membership subscription is due to be increased to 150 tambala when the MCP holds its annual congress in the north later this year. Using the Malawi Young Pioneers<sup>2</sup> (who are often unemployed, poorly educated teenagers, some of whom are coopted as informers for the Special Branch, or as full-time employees) as its strong-arm, the MCP is wearing thin on the growing number of educated Malawians who can perceive it as Banda's personal system rather than as a national movement. The insecurity of some senior MCP officials lends a theatrical air. As the MCP rules and regulations specify, somewhat ominously in the section dealing with access to the life president: "members of the National Executive Committee are advised to be careful as to who they send or bring to the Life President".

If Banda dies in office (and it is unlikely that he will relinquish the presidency otherwise), the MCP constitution dictates that the secretary-general summons within three days an emergency meeting of the National Executive Committee, which then elects two of its members (providing they are in the cabinet) to serve with the secretary-general on a presidential commission. An MCP annual convention is then to be called as soon as possible to elect a new president.

To what extent those who have popular backing such as Gadama of the central region would prevail in the power vacuum over party potentates whose reputation was based on association with Banda, is not a totally open question. Popular expectation for change would probably preempt the chances of the latter category, which includes Tembo and Ngwiri. If the three-man presidential commission followed the constitutional procedure and was made up of cabinet ministers only, it could probably rule for some time without public criticism, especially if it was composed of Matenje, Gadama and either Chimango or Bwanali — all of whom are popular figures. (Gadama and Matenje are also respectively parliamentary chief whip and deputy chief whip).

It appears therefore that the key question is whether Banda's dictatorship continues long enough to fuel popular frustration to the point of instability *before* he dies. If there is a rudimentary but passive

network of opposition<sup>1</sup> members in the country, it is unlikely that it could organise anti-government demonstrations or strikes. As Banda has doubtless feared for several years, any threat to the last years of his rule would almost certainly come from within the cabinet, possibly by more than one individual.

Banda's difficulties on this score are in danger of being greatly increased by the failure of Mozambique to manage its railways and its two ports, Beira and Nacala, upon which Malawi depends almost entirely.

In July last year, Mozambique and Malawi established diplomatic relations. Although for several years Malawi Railways has had an office in Beira, in addition now to the Malawian diplomats in Maputo, practical relations with Mozambique appear to be minimal. Mozambique has not yet established its own diplomats in Lilongwe, and efforts by Malawi to negotiate rehabilitation of the railways and ports, with the help of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), have so far come to nothing other than a promise of **Canadian** finance for repairing the railway to Nacala.

At present we understand that there are over 1,500 Malawian containers at Nacala awaiting transport to Malawi. But at present the Mozambicans have only one fork-lift truck (two others appear to have been cannibalised) and one inoperable gantry (a new one is waiting there to be assembled). As a result it appears that not more than 15 containers can be moved per day. Whenever there is heavy rainfall the piles of containers sink into the mud, the railway floods and subsides and Malawi's container traffic comes to a complete standstill. At the beginning of this month the Mozambican minister of public works and housing, **Julio Carrillo** and the minister of ports and land transport, **Alcantara Santos**, went to Nacala to "familiarise themselves with the situation".

The problem is management, not finance or technicalities. In the short-term — and Malawi cannot wait long — the obvious solution is for Malawi Railways to negotiate a management contract for the Blantyre-Beira and the Liwonde-Nacala railways and at least the Nacala container terminal. But this suggestion immediately meets a political hurdle: the association between Malawi and South Africa in the context of the MNR. Mozambican authorities believe that MNR guerrillas have at times used bases in Malawi to receive weapons and supplies from South Africa, an allegation denied by Malawi. Banda obviously is not averse to the weakening by the MNR of his marxist neighbour. But with the MNR jeopardising Malawi's lifeline (apart from the bad effect it has on Mozambique-Malawi relations, it has both blown up the railway and reportedly fired on Malawian trucks travelling across Mozambique to the ports), he cannot now afford to encourage it in any way. The only alternative to the Mozambican transport route is the railway via Chipata in Zambia to South Africa, via Zimbabwe. It has limited capacity and is twice as expensive as the Mozambique

route. (In a forthcoming issue we will examine the MNR in detail).

The cost of Malawi's links with South Africa<sup>4</sup> set off against Malawi's dependence on its neighbours is finely balanced. During the last two years Banda has made an effort to persuade black southern Africa that the South African connection is economic pragmatism, not a political understanding. Below is a brief summary of Banda's strategy of personal diplomacy in the region:—

**Mozambique:** (see above). Working relations between Banda and Samora Machel are probably impossible and Malawi has no leverage to exert over Mozambique. If commercially viable oil is found in lake Malawi (there is oil but an estimate of volume and production cost is not yet available), Malawi's two islands — Chizumulu and Chipyla — off the eastern shore of lake Malawi, would more easily be subject to territorial dispute with Maputo. The islands' few inhabitants are anyhow Portuguese speaking.

**Tanzania:** Banda met Julius Nyerere for the first time in many years at the Commonwealth meeting in Melbourne last year. Oil discoveries in the northern half of lake Malawi would certainly spark off more serious dispute over Malawi's claim to all of that part of the lake.

**Zambia:** If Kenneth Kaunda's relations with Banda are still cool, they do have some mutual interests. a) Both are Chewa b) Kaunda's eldest son, Panji, visits Malawi fairly regularly. Panji, who spends his time running the Kaunda family farm at Chambalakali in northern Zambia and his own haulage company, is believed by some to own a farm in Malawi through a nominee, and c) inter-dependency on maize is likely to be more important in the future. Until now Malawi has had the surplus. But if Zambian agricultural policy continues in the right direction (AC Vol 23 No 10), the tables may sometimes be turned.

**Zimbabwe:** During the Zimbabwean war, Banda backed Abel Muzorewa, and made no secret of his dislike of Robert Mugabe. Last year however Banda surprised many by going to the SADC meeting in Harare, where he met with Mugabe.

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#### Footnotes

1. Inconsistent rainfall after the last planting season will probably mean a total maize crop of about 1.6m tonnes, slightly lower than last year, despite the greater acreage planted. The completion of a South African-financed and constructed 180,000 tonne silo near Lilongwe will in future enable the storage of one season's marketed maize crop. The only recent food shortage to have caused widespread comment was cooking oil, most of which had been exported.

2. There are now an estimated 60 young pioneers in each of the 24 MPC administrative regions.

3. The four opposition movements are:—

The *Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo)*, formerly led by Orton Chirwa, now of uncertain leadership. Based in Tanzania. The *Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma)*, led by Dr. Attati Mphakati, based in Maputo. Last year it is believed that Lesoma cadres infiltrated the northern district of the central region. Various armed skirmishes took place.

The *Congress for the Second Republic*, led by former minister of education, Kanyama Chiume. Based in Tanzania.

The *Peoples Democratic Party*. Established by the late Henry Chipembere, it is now thought to be practically non-existent.

4. The only African state to have relations with South Africa, Malawi has received South African finance for a number of large projects, including the construction of the new capital of Lilongwe. South Africans working in Malawi are allowed considerable freedom, although the government was recently embarrassed we understand by an attempt by the South African managers of a sugar project in the north to impose local apartheid. It is believed that Malawi has a form of defence agreement with South Africa, which may be complemented by Israel, with which Malawi also has diplomatic relations. In a crisis of any kind South Africa can be expected to promptly assist, as witnessed in 1979 when South African Hercules C-130 aircraft flew in diesel in 50 gallon drums ●

## RURAL WATER PLAN GETS UNDP HELP

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 28 May 82 p 1

[Text]

**THE United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has contributed a sum of 611,000 US dollars towards the launching of communal water points project at Dowa Boma and Mponela to provide clean water around these areas.**

**The availability of funds from UNDP were communicated to members of the District Development Committee here at the Malaŵi Correspondence College at Mvela in Chief Chiwele's area.**

The Nominated Member of Parliament from Dowa, Mrs. Elizabeth Chowa, thanked the Government for its efforts to acquire the funds for the project geared at providing clean water to the rural people.

**WOULD COMPLY**

She assured the members, who included a senior official from the Department of Lands, Valuation and Water, who briefed the DDC on the project, that the community involved in the project would comply with the project's requirements, for its success.

The official said the Government had acquired the money from the UNDP in an effort to supply clean water to the rural population.

He said the initial work on the pilot project was expected to

start soon. He, however, told the committee that the success of the project depended on its involvement in the scheme.

**WATER TAPPING**

At the meeting, the official also disclosed the tapping of ground water in the integrated development project in Dowa West, which will start sometime in July. The idea of the water project will help settle farmers on virgin land, with clean water.

The DDC members approved a further negotiation for financial assistance from the International Development Agency (IDA) on Phase Three for a school block and a teacher's house each at Chigudu, Mvera, Kawere and Katalima primary schools.

They reviewed progress on the 17 aided projects launched in the district during the past five years, which used K53,389.05 from external donors and the Malaŵi Government.

They, however, emphasized the need for rural communities to comply with the desires of the donors to complete the projects within 18 months.

**NGWAZI THANKED**

Closing the meeting, the District Party Chairman, Mr. S.C. Chikolosa Phiri, thanked His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, for creating district development committees, whereby members shared ideas on how best they could improve their living standards.

## BRIEFS

WHEAT CROP URGED--MZIMBA, Thursday--SOILS in Mzimba District were rich to support the growing of wheat, which was in great demand in the country, the Northern Region Minister, Mr. Robson Chirwa, has said here. The Minister was speaking at Emchakachakeni, in Inkosi Mzikubola's Headquarters, in the district. He said most areas in Mzimba District have suitable soils and weather for the growing of wheat, tobacco, groundnuts and other cash crops. The Minister, therefore, called on the people to grow more wheat to make the country self-sufficient in all its food needs and wants. The Minister commended people at Echigodhleni and surrounding areas for embarking on more projects on a self-help. [Text] [Blantye DAILY TIMES in English 28 May 82 p 1]

CS0: 4700/1506

## MMM ELECTION VICTORY ANTICIPATED, FUTURE POLICIES VIEWED

Port Louis LE MAURITIEN in English 17 Jun 82 p 6

[Text] The road linking the airport to the capital city of Port Louis was jammed with thousands of spectators. As politicians with loudspeakers offered impassioned campaign promises, khaki-uniformed police quietly patrolled the crowds, separating fervid supporters of the various political parties. The final week of electioneering on the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius had all the tension of a neck-and-neck race. But if the national polls are even close to the mark, the results are not at all in doubt: the long-ruling, pro-Western Labour Party will be out and the youthful, left-wing Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) will be in.

The expected passing of the old guard is perhaps inevitable, but the new guard's agenda portends changes that have U.S. officials on edge. The MMM has pledged to "liberate" the atoll of Diego Garcia, the prime American naval base in the Indian Ocean. Demands to return Diego Garcia to Mauritius are unlikely to be backed with any military maneuvering along the lines of a Falklands-style takeover. But some Western observers fear the MMM may offer Moscow similar military facilities on Mauritius, a move that would add to the Russian presence in the Indian Ocean, where Madagascar and the Seychelles already welcome Soviet ships. MMM leader Paul Berenger dismisses such concerns. "We will close our seaports to the warships of all major military powers", he told Newsweek's Peter Youngusband. "We will fight democratically and diplomatically to re-establish our sovereignty over Diego Garcia".

Nonalignment: Berenger's leftist party has other changes in mind--and clearly Mauritius is ripe for change. Inflation runs at 23 percent. 50,000 people are jobless and almost one-fifth of the island's 950,000 residents are trying to emigrate. "From the day we take control", promises Berenger, "we will direct our efforts to check the island's crippling unemployment". Berenger's attacks on the Labour Party for "corruption, mismanagement and stagnation" have received a sympathetic hearing, as have his calls for a limited nationalization of the sugar industry--the backbone of the Mauritius economy. If elected, the party plans to introduce a socialist government along the line of French President Francois Mitterand's. As to foreign policy, Berenger insists: "We will be strickly nonaligned. Certainly Mauritius will be taken out of the Western sphere, but it will not be moved to the Eastern sphere".

An MMM victory in this week's elections will make the party's Indian president Aneerood Jugnauth the new Prime Minister. But Jugnauth is primarily a front man to secure the Indian vote the accounts for almost 70 percent of the mauritian electorate. The real muscle behind the MMM is its founder. Berenger, who undoubtedly will call the shots in the new government. A white Mauritian of French descent, Berenger learned his fiery brand of socialist politics in Paris. He was active in the student riots of 1968 and spent most of 1972 in a Mauritius jail for leading a strike of the island's port workers.

Berenger, 36, possesses more than a bit of that ingredient critical for political success in the twentieth century: charisma. A slight man given to wearing safari suits, Berenger sports a Walesa-style mustache and exudes a Kennedy brand of confidence. His strong political presence has had an impact on Mauritian politics for the past six years. In the last election in 1976, the MMM captured 40 percent of the popular vote and won 34 of the Legislative Assembly's 70 seats. The Labor Party barely held on to power by forming a coalition government with a political party backed by the wealthy, white sugar planters. But its leadership has hinted that it may not join the Labor Party in this go-round. And that almost certainly would mean that the Labor Party and its leader, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam the ailing 82-year-old Prime Minister who has run Mauritius for fourteen years--will lose.

As election day nears, Berenger has begun to moderate some of his more rigid positions--particularly his call to end close ties with South Africa. Mauritius is heavily dependent on South Africa for income from tourism and consumer trade. "There is no intention to nationalize South African interests at this stage", says Berenger. "We will, however, prevail on importers and tourists operators here to gradually replace South African trade and tourists with trade and tourists from other countries". Berenger continues to pledge that he will cancel Air Mauritius flights to South Africa. But he has backed away from pledges to cancel South Africa's landing rights on Mauritius--at least "for the time being".

Ripple Effect: That posture has a wait and see tone--but so do most question about the future of Mauritius. Western leaders are worried by reports that the MMM campaign has received a financial boost from Libya's Col. Muammar Kadhafi. (Berenger emphatically denies that he has received any Libyan aid). And despite Berenger's vow to pursue a nonaligned policy, Washington believes its base on Diego Garcia may propel Mauritius into the Soviet camp. Moreover, the tiny atoll could become a test case for other liberation efforts in the Indian Ocean. Mauritius also lays claim to the French island of Tromelin, the Comoros Republic claims the French island of Mayotte and Madagascar has staked a claim to four other French islands. Western interests are closely bound up in the fate of those islands situated in the Mozambique Channel--the oil route from the Mideastern gulf states to Europe. A minor disturbance over Diego Garcia could produce a ripple effect around the globe.

CSO: 4700/1526

GOWASEB INCIDENT TRIGGERS THREAT, SECRET MEETINGS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 23 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

**CONSIDERABLE**  
intrigue was added yesterday to the reports this week of the alleged abduction and manhandling of Advertiser reporter, Mr Karl Gowaseb.

Mr Gowaseb was allegedly abducted by Nature Conservation officials at the Okaukuejo guest camp in the Etosha Reserve, sworn at, assaulted and then dropped in the veld after having been accused of misconduct.

The matter is presently being handed over to the Police to handle.

Yesterday morning the Editor of the Advertiser, Mr Leon Kok, received an anonymous call warning him that if he encouraged "kaffirs to visit Etosha", he would be the next victim.

Shortly after he received yet another strange call from a person who refused to be named, but requesting that Mr Kok go to a city hotel where he would hear certain "things" about the entire incident. He was given 10 minutes to get there.

The person also requested that Mr Kok bring a camera and R50.

Mr Kok went to the hotel concerned, waited at the reception and then was quietly called across the room. Mr Kok was accom-

panied by The Advertiser photographer, Mr Dirk Heinrich.

Mr Heinrich recognised the person concerned as a government official; the two had met on a previous occasion.

After pleasantries had been exchanged by this person and Mr Heinrich, this person demanded that a photograph be taken of himself and Mr Kok together.

He then talked in circles, as Mr Kok described it, and Mr Kok asked Mr Heinrich to leave.

The person then immediately got on to the subject of the alleged abduction, manhandling and assault of Mr Gowaseb and gave a limited amount of information, claiming that he had intimate knowledge of it.

**FULL REPORT**

He then insisted that he could say no more, but if Mr Kok got him a hotel room, he would go upstairs and write a full report which would be complete and handed to Mr Kok at 7.30 last night.

He said he would also include details of widespread corruption in the White Administration.

Mr Kok, though reluctant to meet this strange request but nevertheless keen to acquire further information on the Etosha incident, agreed. He also informed

the hotel management of the situation.

Mr Kok spoke to this person telephonically yesterday afternoon and was told that the report was "going well". He was also told that another gentlemen would also be at the hotel at 7.30 to see him.

Mr Kok went to the hotel last night, accompanied by John Meinert MD. Mr Peter Meinert, but this person was not there. He had apparently booked out. The matter was left at that.

Another person also visited The Advertiser yesterday and told Mr Kok that he witnessed much of the happenings at the camp, that the Advertiser report on Monday was essentially correct and that he would be willing to act as a witness if legal recourse is resorted to.

Late yesterday Mr Kok received yet another anonymous telephone call, except that the person said he was a journalist and he was also on the Sigma trip. Mr Gowaseb was allegedly abducted, manhandled and assaulted in Etosha while officially covering the launching of one of Sigma's new vehicles.

#### NEUTRAL

The person said he was neutral and wanted to give a fair account of what happened.

He alleged that problems started at a Sigma function in Windhoek before the journalists left for Etosha.

He alleged that Mr Gowaseb behaved himself well but invited a friend who had too much to drink and got "completely out of hand". This person was not a guest of Sigma's and his presence apparently upset the Sigma management. The behaviour of this person furthermore apparently created an atmosphere that had a strong bearing on the events that were to follow.

This person furthermore alleged that on the night of the abduction and manhandling of Mr Gowaseb, Mr Gowaseb had had too much to drink, but conceded that the alleged actions of the Conservation Department officials were uncalled for.

On the other hand, he said, Mr Gowaseb was not left in the open, but taken to a nearby Army camp "where he was left to sleep in a tent and to dry out."

Mr Gowaseb was taken back to Okaukuejo at 7 the next morning.

Mr Gowaseb this morning vehemently denied these charges and stands by his original story.

CSO: 4700/1545

# DTA ASKS GOVERNMENT TO SET JA TOIVO FREE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Jul 82 p 8

[Text]

**WINDHOEK.** — The ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance of South West Africa-Namibia is going to ask the South African Government again to free Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, a founder member of Swapo who is imprisoned on Robben Island.

The vice-president of the DTA, Dr Ben Africa, confirmed yesterday the DTA would be making such a request in the near future.

The general secretary of the DTA, Mr Johan de Waal, said there had been several requests to free Ja Toivo in the past.

He said the feeling of the DTA was that certain people had made stronger statements lately than those for which Ja Toivo and Gerson Veli — who has since been released — were convicted.

It is not known if the South African Government made any official reaction in the past about the DTA's re-

quests to free Ja Toivo.

Mr John Viall, Chief Director of the Administrator General's office, said yesterday it was stipulated in Resolution 435 that when an agreement had been reached in South West Africa, within six weeks of the implementation date so-called political prisoners must be released.

He added that if an agreement could be reached in South West Africa an arrangement would have to be made so that people like Ja Toivo and prisoners being held by Swapo in prisons in Angola and Zambia could be released to participate in the election.

Mr Viall said that at this stage there had been no indication that the five Western countries would send their representatives to Windhoek to see the internal parties.

The chances of an agreement being reached depended on the reaction of Swapo, the

front-line states and Nigeria after the Western powers had completed their discussions, he said.

The discussions begin today in Washington, where a South African delegation was consulted last week.

In Windhoek, newspapers are speculating over what will happen if an agreement is reached and the election date is set for March next year.

A March date will mean that the election machine will have to start moving into action in August.

The Republican, mouthpiece of the DTA, reported recently that the Windhoek Show would not be able to take place as the United Nations would need the Showgrounds.

Another report said the Berg Hotel, transformed into offices for the Administrator-General, who has since moved to South West House, would be the UNO's headquarters during an election.

CSO: 4700/1545

# CAPRIVI LAKE COULD SUPPLY WINDHOEK WITH WATER

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 2 Jul 82 p 6

[Article by Franz Krueger: "Caprivi: Water Affairs' Glorious Freak"]

[Text]

A virtually unknown lake, a river that can flow both ways and a weed that may infest the future water supply of the rest of Namibia: these are some of the fascinating things Water Affairs officials deal with daily in the Caprivi.

The Caprivi strip is a historical freak which reaches right across the sub-continent to touch not only Zambia and Botswana, but Zimbabwe, too. Over 1 200 kms separate Katima Mulilo from Windhoek, and its connections with the Namibian capital are tenuous.

Telephone calls from Windhoek are routed via Pretoria, Windhoek beer is unobtainable and the local marked as a marsh. The region experienced a severe drought during the late forties, during which the marsh was burnt by the local population.

"Slash and burn agriculture" which is still much used in the region, involves burning the vegetation of a tract of land before planting. Not only is it a simple method of clearing the land, but the burning also puts a lot of

nutrients into the soil, ensuring a good crop.

However, it is a highly wasteful method; after the nutrients introduced artificially into a burnt piece of ground have been exhausted, it takes a long time for the ground to recover.

The drought provided a good opportunity to use land otherwise not accessible, since it was too wet, and so large parts of the marsh were burnt, and crops planted there.

The drought ended when particularly heavy rains fell in the early and mid fifties. The typically marshy topography of the area had in the meantime been changed by the burning, however, and so the lake was formed in place of the marsh.

Scientists are not sure why the lake then remained, and did not disappear again. Some believe earth movements caused barriers to develop, which prevented the water from White school falls under the Transvaal Dept of Education.

But it is the plentiful supply of water, before all else, which makes the region strange and foreign to parched Namibians. And the sight of Lake Liambezi,

stretching clear to the horizon seems like a fata morgana to Namibians whose concept of water is limited to taps, boreholes, rivers that flow once in a blue moon and brief, glorious showers in the so-called rainy season.

Lake Liambezi is 100 square km in extent, with a further 200 square km of marsh adding to the water surface. It lies along the southern border of the eastern Caprivi with Botswana. It cannot be found on any but the newest of maps, since it has only existed since 1958.

On older maps, the area now covered by the lake is running off. Others believe reeds washed away by the sudden rush of water formed barriers, which silted up and gradually turned into permanent barriers.

Whatever the reason, the lake remained. In the early stages, it still had a very unbalanced ecology. The nutrients introduced into the soil by the burning process made the water very rich, and led to a proliferation of weeds.

In time, however, the ecosystem stabilised, and is now almost identical to

that of other shallow African lakes. Lake Liambezi is only one part of the Chobe river system, which takes on four different names before it joins the Zambesi.

Coming from Angola, it is called the Kwando, and forms the border between the eastern and the western Caprivi. At a point where it takes a sharp turn to the north east, it becomes the Linyandi, and then flows into Lake Liambezi. At the other end, it emerges as the Chobe, which then flows into the mighty Zambesi.

It is the Chobe which can flow in both directions. The gradient of the river is very slight, while the water level in the Zambesi can change dramatically from season to season.

In some seasons the level of the Zambesi can rise to as much as 10m, which is much higher than the Chobe's gradient. In other words, the level of water in the Zambesi is higher than the highest point of the Chobe, where it leaves Lake Liambezi.

This means the pressure of water from the Zambesi is large enough to overcome the slight gradient of the Chobe, and water is pushed back into that river. When this happens, the Chobe simply turns around and flows back into the

lake.

The whole river system is linked to Lake Kariba through the Zambesi, and it is this route that Kariba weed, or *Salvinia Molesta*, took to infest the Chobe river system.

If steps are not taken to stop the further spread of the weed, it may reach the Kavango system, threatening the Okavango swamps and causing major problems for the planned water provision project for central Namibia.

Long term planning by the Dept of Water Affairs sees water from the Kavango reaching Windhoek via a canal which will take water into the Omatako dam, from there into the Von Bach dam and into Windhoek's water supply.

The canal linking Grootfontein with the Omatako dam is already being constructed. The weed could foul up pumps and cause blockages if it reached the projected canal.

Although the Kavango and Kwando/Chobe river systems are separate, there is a spillway which links the two in particularly rainy seasons. This is the cylinder spillway, which carries excess flood water from the Kwando river into the top of the Okavango swamp.

# FURTHER REPORTAGE ON ELECTION PREPARATIONS

## Registration of More Parties

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 29 May 82 p 1

[Article by Omafume Amurun]

[Text]

**THE Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) may register more political parties before '83 elections.**

Sources close to FEDECO told the New Nigerian in Lagos, yesterday that the commission still stood by an earlier statement by its chairman, Justice Ovie Wiskey that registration of associations was a continuous exercise.

The New Nigerian learnt also that the unrecognised parties need not file in new registration papers since their earlier papers were still valid.

It was gathered that FEDECO would soon inform the unrecognised parties why their applications were rejected and they would be considered again if they amended their shortcomings.

When I contacted FEDECO's Information Secretary, Mr Adewale, he remarked that all applications would be reconsidered on merit but he could not

say when this would be done.

Last Tuesday, Fedeco recognised the Nigerian Advance Party (NAP) led by a Lagos lawyer Mr. Tunji Braithwaite out of seven associations which applied for registration. The most obvious casualty was the People's Progressive Party (PPP).

Reacting to the non-recognition of the PPP on Tuesday, the associations National Director of Organisation Mr. H. Olatilowa warned that if after all efforts FEDECO refused to register PPP, the party would consider instituting a legal action against the commission.

However, at a press conference on Wednesday, PPP's interim National Chairman Dr. Basil Ukegbu announced that they had resolved to use one of the two options it has kept in reserve in order to get FEDECO's registration.

This involves asking the three sponsoring parties the NPP, GNPP, and Imoudu faction of PRP to resolve at a national congress to change their names, constitutions and symbols to that of the PPP, he said.

## Non-Registration of PPP, Violence

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 29 May 82 p 3

[Article by M. A. Aliyu Biu]

[Text]

OFFICIAL circles in Plateau State were thrown into confusion following the non-registration of the Progressive People's Party (PPP) by FEDECO.

Reacting to the issue, the Special Adviser on Information to the Plateau Governor, Mr. Peter Madaki, vowed that they may take FEDECO to court because according to him it had no reason whatsoever for the non-registration of the PPP.

Mr. Madaki said that FEDECO's action spelt doom for the country, adding that as far as they were concerned if PPP is not registered, there would be no NPN.

The special adviser said that despite the fact that FEDECO was under the control of NPN Federal Government, there was a limit to which it could toss people around and deprive them the right of freedom of association as guaranteed in the constitution.

In his reaction, the NPN leader in the Plateau State House of Assembly, Alhaji Zakari Yakubu, said he welcomed the news.

Alhaji Zakari Yakubu said that

the PPP does not exist in the southern part of the country and added that it was primarily established to further disintegrate the north by using politics of minority, ethnicity and religion at a time when the north was becoming more consolidated.

Alhaji Zakari Yakubu said now that the PPP was not registered, the NPP should surrender its party registration certificate and declare for the NPN.

In another development, the Assistant Secretary of the NPN in Plateau State, Alhaji Sale Kanam said that as a result of the non-registration of PPP, some NPP supporters and their thugs were terrorising local traders in Jos and beating up some NPN supporters at Keana, including one of the NPN gubernatorial aspirant, Alhaji Shehu Uthman.

Alhaji Sale Kanam said that information reaching the state secretariat of the party showed that the NPP thugs were located at strategic areas to deal with some selected NPN officials and supporters.

## Transport Minister Supports Shagari

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 3 Jun 82 p 3

[Excerpt]

MINISTER of Transport, Dr. Umaru Dikko, said in Lagos on Tuesday that he saw no reason why President Shehu Shagari should not be given another chance to serve the people of this country.

The minister, who was answering questions from newsmen shortly after launching a pamphlet on a new national shipping policy described President Shagari as a man of the people, "who is prepared to serve his people faithfully and diligently."

Dr. Dikko said that Nigeria was not in need of a "Naira president" because "the Nigerian electorate could not be bought over with money."

## Yoruba NPN Leaders

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 3 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

PRESIDENT Shehu Shagari is not likely to face any opposition from the Yoruba leaders in the NPN if and when he files his renomination papers.

This is because the NPN leaders from the Yoruba speaking areas have resolved not to put up any candidate against the President.

Investigations conducted by the New Nigerian revealed that the Yoruba leaders met at a house in Apapa last week to decide on the issue.

At the meeting, were representatives from all the senatorial districts in the Yoruba speaking areas and those in the party's hierarchy in the areas.

The New Nigerian source also revealed that although all those present at the meeting agreed that President Shagari should be

allowed to run for a second term without hinderance, the leaders wanted an assurance that the Yorubas would not remain in the cold, come 1987.

As a result of the meeting, one of the presidential aspirants from the area was instructed to phone the President on the spot to intimate him with the decision not to file any candidate from the Yoruba speaking areas against him, which the person concerned did at once.

Our source did not however state the President's reply to the telephone call.

Efforts to contact those present at the meeting failed but a top member of the party confirmed that the meeting was held.

He however declined to give details of what transpired at the meeting.

## PPP Official's Statements Scored

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 5 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

KADUNA State Directorate of Nigerian Advance Party (NAP) has condemned the utterances of the Kaduna State PPP Director of Research and Publicity, Mr. C.S. Ayashim.

This was in reaction to the recent statement credited to Mr. Ayashim in which he claimed that NAP was registered to split UPN in the five states controlled by it in favour of the NPN.

NAP also denied Mr. Ayashim's claim that it had no office in Kaduna State and some other states in the country, but yet it was registered and this Mr. Ayashim said was contrary to the provisions of the electoral law.

In a statement, Alhaji Ibrahim Yakubu of Kaduna branch of NAP urged Mr. Ayashim to

direct his attention on nursing wounds sustained by his party as a result of its non-registration by FEDECO.

Alhaji Ibrahim Yakubu further urged "all well-meaning citizens to reject completely the so-called People's Progressive Party" and, "the meaningless Progressive People's Alliance", which, according to him lack substance, aims and objectives "except to destabilize the existing unity and peace of this nation".

He then called on the general public to come out en-masse and support NAP for the interest of peace and stability.

Alhaji Ibrahim Yakubu praised President Shehu Shagari for his effort to revamp the nation's economy.

## UPN Expels Legislator

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 7 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

**A MEMBER of the Oyo State House of Assembly, Mr. R. Adebayo Shittu has been expelled from the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) by the Ifedapo Constituency of the party.**

This was contained in a release issued and signed by 16 executive members of the Ifedapo Constituency of the party in Ibadan.

According to the release, the expulsion of Mr. Shittu from the party was recommended to the local government and state bodies of the party for further actions.

According to the party, the expulsion of Mr. Shittu was sequel to several allegations he levelled against top members of the party.

Mr. Shittu was accused of alleged high disrespect to the party in the constituency and for attending meetings not approved by it.

He was also accused of unco-operative activities with the constituency, lack of consultations and disregard to pieces of

advice.

Mr. Shittu was alleged by the party to be advocating some doctrine views and opinions contrary to laid down policies of the UPN.

In another development, Alhaji Adebayo Shittu, has said in Ilorin that he exposed the "corrupt leaders" of the UPN in the executive and legislative arrays of the state government to rid the party of bad eggs.

Speaking on an NTA Ilorin programme, "Central Figure", Alhaji Shittu said that "it is high time we erased the belief that politics is an avenue for enriching one's purse".

He said that it was the responsibility of the youths to bring a radical change into the Nigerian body politics, adding that the conventional system of old politicians had failed to bring the required change into the structural set-up of the nation.

Alhaji Shittu then said that he could not be removed from the UPN because he had not breached any provision of the party's constitution.

CSO: 4700/1508

# FINANCE COMMISSION CHAIRMAN ON BUDGET

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] During the National Assembly's discussion yesterday of the 1982-1983 draft budget, Deputy Hamet Diop, chairman of the finance and economic affairs committee, proposed a progressive increase of 2 percent in the salaries of public service officials beginning 1 July. He said in his report that the draft budget "comes at the middle stage of the period of the medium-term plan for economic and financial recovery." Its revenue and expenditure are estimated at Fr 230,207,750,000, or an increase of 9 percent over the corrective budget voted for the current period, which was aimed at "reducing the deficit in budget operations and in the special treasury accounts." Hamet Diop believes that "1982 will be a year of economic recovery with more favorable conditions of internal supply and demand than in 1981." This judgment is based on favorable rainfall and a well-prepared agricultural campaign with encouraging results: 878,000 tons of peanuts, 41,000 tons of cotton, and 736,000 tons of millet and sorghum. Total value of agricultural output is estimated at 118 billion, compared to 67.8 billion in 1981. However, Dr Diop warned that "the international market remains gloomy." He explained that 600,000 tons of shell peanuts would certainly be delivered to the oil plant but "because of the fall in world prices for this product, that tonnage is only equivalent to 300,000 tons sold and delivered to the plant in 1981."

Hamet Diop revealed, in respect to internal consumption, that the controlled production of peanuts had made it possible to inject some 42 billion into the rural economy, compared to only 9 billion in 1981.

Discussing the draft operating budget, Mr Diop said it was "based entirely on ordinary revenues, without recourse to new taxes, or, for the present increases in taxes." However, he explained that certain duties and taxes have been included in the budget which were previously paid into special treasury accounts. These include the road fund, the housing improvement fund, and the fund to equip local communities. These three accounts will be funded through special grants.

## New Measures

As for new measures, they include: for personnel, recruitment of officials for newly created functions, an increase in the number of deputies for the

next legislative session, and a raise in civil service salaries. To these we must add: organization of the coming elections, higher education, the Senegambian Confederation, creation of jobs for youth, the fifth FIDAK [International Fair of Dakar], etc.

Mr Diop said also that 29 billion will be needed to consolidate the external debt, and 10 billion additional will be used to cancel the liability of the former ONCAD [National Office of Cooperation and Assistance for Development]. Deputy Diop said: "We will seek foreign loans to assure financing of the second phase of the sixth annual plan." For this reason, and to meet a number of other requirements, the draft budget proposes empowering the head of state to contract loans up to a total of 116 billion.

The committee chairman affirmed his optimism about the upcoming budget year: "It will mark a decisive turning point on the internal front."

9920

CSO: 4719/1081

# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES DRAFT BUDGET

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] At the budget session of the National Assembly, Christian Valantin, reporter for the finance and economic affairs committee, made some general remarks on the draft budget, following the report by Hameth Diop. Mr Valantin analyzed the international and national context in which the economy had developed during the preceding budget year.

In regard to developments abroad, he referred to the negative effects of the rise in the dollar value, the devaluation of the French franc, American policy in interest rates, and the recession in the OECD countries.

Internally, the bad agricultural year of 1980-1981 and the estimated 5.7 percent decline in the construction and public works sector contributed to worsening the situation.

The trade balance showed a deficit of 136.5 billion in 1981. To deal with this development, the government continued its effort to rectify the economic and financial situation and undertook to correct the important balances through a plan for economic and financial recovery. The rectification involved settlement of the government's outstanding payments and refinancing of the public debt, while for the foreign debt a rescheduling was arranged with the Paris Club. A national effort was also made to progressively reduce prices of certain basic commodities. At the same time, rural incomes were increased.

The draft budget totals Fr 230,207,750,000 compared to Fr 211,412,199,000 for the previous period, for an increase of 9 percent. The operating budget is Fr 51,373,750,000. In regard to revenues, no new taxes or tax increases are planned. Discussing expenditures, the reporter pointed out that for this realistic budget the operating budget had been adjusted to take into account students leaving training schools, ministerial department needs which had been underestimated in previous years, and higher government contributions to international organizations.

The proposed investment budget is Fr 23 billion.

9920

CSO: 4719/1081

## SAUDI FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 3 Jun 82 p 5

[Excerpts] The president of the republic's tour of Arab countries has already begun to bear fruit. Saudi Arabia has announced that it will participate, to the extent of 26,237,000,000 Fr CFA, in national development projects in Senegal. That country has also decided to help finance OMVS regional projects with a total of \$150 million, of which 23,780,000,000 Fr CFA will go to Senegal.

The overall total of Saudi aid to finance development projects in Senegal will be 50,017,000,000 Fr CFA.

This extensive aid was presaged by the warm welcome by the Saudi government and people to the president of the Senegal Republic during his official visit from 7 to 9 March 1982.

Senegal and Saudi Arabia follow a policy of cooperation which is reflected in their identity of views on major current problems, and in this they are a pioneer model in African-Arab cooperation.

The Saudi Development Fund, which handles development aid granted by Saudi Arabia, offers particularly favorable conditions for loans: low interest rates (usually 3 percent), 20 years' average repayment period with a 5-year grace period, and many features which make them particularly suitable to the needs of developing countries.

In addition to the Diama and Manantali dams, regional projects, and the Anambe basin hydro-agricultural development project in which the Saudi Development Fund has been involved for several years, Saudi Arabia is going to finance a variety of projects in Senegal.

These include: an urgent water project, the Ourossogui-Bakel road, the Kedougou-Saraya road, the Dialokoto-Kedougou road, the canal and shore road in Dakar, the project of the Company for Development and Exploitation of the Delta Land and the Senegal Valley (SAED), the project of the Company for Development of Fiber Textiles (SODEFITEX), and the Sacre Coeur II program for housing construction.

The fact that almost all the projects proposed for Saudi financing during the president's visit to Saudi Arabia were accepted promptly however, without sacrifice of financial thoroughness--is also worth noting as an obvious sign of the vitality of Arab-African cooperation.

BRIEFS

MUSLIM FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION'S PRESIDENT--(APS). Prince Muhammad al-Faysal Al Sa'ud, president of the vigilance council of Dar al-Mal al-Islami, arrived in Dakar yesterday in early afternoon. The prince was received at Dakar-Yoff airport by Minister of Economy and Finance Ousmane Seck, the Saudi ambassador, the president's personal counsellor, Moustapha Cisse, and several heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Dakar. The president of Dar al-Mal al-Islami will be paying a 3-day official visit to Senegal at the head of an important delegation composed of members of the vigilance committee and the staff. In a statement to the press, Prince Faysal recalled that this was his second visit to Senegal. He said that it would enable him to discuss economic and financial issues with Senegalese officials. He added: These are "contacts among brothers" with the purpose of establishing close relations between Senegal and his organization. The organization's international administrative headquarters is in Geneva. Its purpose is to carry out financial operations in accordance with the provisions of the Islamic Shari'a. [Excerpt] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 2 Jun 82 p 6] 9920

CSO: 4719/1081

POST-MORTEM REVEALS STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES OF ELECTIONS

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 30 Jun 82 pp 1, 7

[Editorial: "Elections Post-Mortem"]

[Text] WHEN all is said and done with the Elections and Bye-Elections now over (barring the Koinadugu North Constituency) there are points that should be seriously advanced for the positive working of the current system of elections.

DESPITE fears loudly expressed in some quarters and quietly whispered in some others as to whether the elections would produce something under the procedures used, the results help to speak out an answer.

ABOUT a quarter of members of the last Parliament lost their Seats which, as far as journalists and observers are concerned, is big news.

THE fact that any incumbent can be unseated (and even lose his deposit as happened in some cases) indicates how much is possible under the system employed.

CONSIDERING the examples of some other countries where every incumbent is seen to get back with eye-brow raising cosiness, the Sierra Leone Elections '82 need to be analytically studied for its more positive features.

THE atmosphere in which the campaigning went on is another aspect for reflection.

THE elections fever passed the boiling point on many occasions and spilled out, burning up numbers in its way.

THE serious irregularities that resulted would have been more of a scorchingly sore point if the Electoral Commission had not stepped in to cancel everything in those constituencies involved.

HERE again, the experiment was going through the inevitable stages:--tempers were raised, noses flared, fists waded in and.....

AS we have consistently stressed in this column, much of the irregularities would definitely have been avoided if security arrangements had been up to expected levels.

IN future the authority of the police should not only be known of but should be clearly felt at all points.

NO one whatsoever should be given leeway to act above what we all accept as the legitimate law.

THAT was what caused a good deal of the trouble in affected areas:

INFLUENTIAL persons simply took upon themselves the role of Kingmaker, muscled in to voting stations and terrorised everyone in sight in an attempt to ensure that their candidates made it

SUCH situations got to the point they did in the first place only because the police security was not adequate enough and because some security personnel lamely accepted that these were "big" men.

THE Bye-Elections in those constituencies were certainly better conducted, which indicates that we are prepared to swallow our bitter pill and learn from experience.

UNQUESTIONABLY, campaigners throughout the entire Elections period freely vented out their feelings--to the point that the most private and unspeakable events of many a candidate personal life came up for public knowledge while songs that could not be considered as palatables at dinning tables of a good number of contestants continually rent the air.

WHAT is important to note is that the most democratic system anywhere could become the most oppressive depending on how it is run just as seemingly bigotic systems can be seen to work in a peoples interest depending on who and who wields power.

The MEAN between extremes lies primarily in the adequacy of checks and balances in the particular arrangements (Electoral or otherwise) in focus.

SIERRA Leone will do well by sapping the best from such truisms.

CSO: 4700/1530

CONTEH WILLING TO BE OAU SECRETARY GENERAL IF ASKED

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 25 Jun 82 pp 3-4

[Text] The international respect and prestige of any country however big or small is in most cases determined by the country's Foreign Minister or Minister of External Affairs.

This is why these days Heads of state and governments engage in indepth personality-search to get highly respectable and dignified individuals to assume the post of foreign Minister who in political jargons are nicknamed "the international walking sticks of the Heads of State."

In almost all African countries and indeed all developing or third world states, most of our Foreign Ministers are young people who must have acquired a wealth of academic training abroad.

There are many reasons for this; the chief being that most times at international conferences, the Foreign Ministers represent their Heads of State.

You will agree that in such circumstances, the Foreign Minister should not only show political maturity, but he should command the respect which his home country demands in the international scene.

Awards

History in fact will place on record that since independence, Sierra Leone underwent the most crucial test of international political maturity between 1979-1982.

This period includes Sierra Leone's hosting the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS to name just two.

Suffice it to mention that between this period, Sierra Leone's foreign Minister, Dr. Abdulai Osman Conteh, excelled himself admirably.

Indeed if anything praiseworthy should be attributed to the Foreign Minister, it is but fit and proper to firstly say well done to no less a person than President Siaka Stevens, the man who exposed the hitherto unknown Dr. Conteh to international light

In our "MEET YOUR MINISTERS" series today, I introduce to you for the first time in these columns Dr. Abdulai Osman Conteh.

Born on August 5, 1945 at Pepel, northern Province, Dr. Abdulai Conteh is the youngest person to be appointed Foreign Minister in this country's history.

The appointment followed his nomination as unopposed representative for Kambia West constituency, for the 1977 General Elections.

He was also returned unopposed for the same constituency in the General Elections in April 1982 and reappointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Conteh was educated at the Sierra Leone Muslim Association, AME Boys High School and the Albert Academy. He entered King's College London University in 1966 and obtained the Bachelor of Law degree with honours in 1969.

Post graduate studies took him to Lincoln's Inn, where he obtained the Barrister at Laws in 1970; London University from where he graduated Master of Law in 1971, and King's College, Cambridge where he read for and obtained the Ph.D in 1974.

Dr. Conteh returned to Freetown in 1974, and was appointed State Counsel at the Law Officers' Department.

From 1975-77, he was a teaching fellow at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, during which time he was also engaged in private practice.

Dr. Conteh has had several awards including National Scholar 1965; Commonwealth Scholar 1966-69; Harold Porter Prize for Land Law, King's College, London University 1969.

Cambridge University Athletics Blue 1970; and United Nations Fellowship in international Law, 1976.

He was awarded the order of the 'Ngwa Ngwa' by the Republic of Korea in May, 1978.

In November 1979, he was decorated with the award of Commander of the National Order of the Peoples Revolutionary Republic of Guinea by President Sekou Toure.

In recognition of his outstanding contribution to the state and in particular for his work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Conteh was awarded the Officer of the Order of the Republic of Sierra Leone (ORSL), Sierra Leone's Premier award in the New Year's Honour's list, announced by President Siaka Stevens.

Dr. Conteh presided over the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1978 as one of the Vice Chairmen for the Thirty Third Session of the General Assembly and in 1980/81 was Chairman of the OAU Council of Ministers.

Excerpts of the interview follow:-

Question: It is said that this country is more widely known in the international scene since you assumed the post of Foreign Minister some five years ago. What do you think is responsible?

Answer: I would not know how correct that statement is, but if it is so, I can only ascribe to a fortuitious combination of circumstances.

Principally in the course of the last five years, Sierra Leone has been a little more active both in the sub-regional and regional organisation.

Namibia

For example, President Stevens became Chairman of the OAU and Sierra Leone as Chairman country played a remarkably effective role in intermediating in African Affairs.

In this period also, Sierra Leone played host to ECOWAS and President Stevens as Chairman of the ECOWAS played an important role in the sub-regional grouping.

All these afforded us--President Stevens, his Ministers and Sierra Leonean Diplomats--to act as the focal point and spokesman at one point or the other for Africa at the global level.

Policy

Naturally the consequence of these events is to draw some diplomatic attention to Sierra Leone as a country.

Question: The African continent has been likened to a human body which feels the pain when one part is affected or injured.

When you take the Namibian issue into consideration what hopes do you think Africans should have for the eventual independence of that country?

Answer: As you correctly say, African states agonise over the question of Namibian independence.

Everyday that passes without this being achieved goes down as an affront to every African.

My hope and belief is that one day Namibia shall be free however long the process.

What we want to avoid is blood shed to achieve this objective.

But the intransigence of the Pretoria regime and the vacillation of the group of Five Western countries which have gratuitously taken the mantle of honest programme for Namibian independence do not altogether conduce confidence to achieving independence by peaceful means for Namibia.

Question: The situation in the Western Sahara still continues to be a hard nut to crack.

With the OAU summit in Libya round the corner, do you think a peaceful settlement is foreseeable in the short run?

Answer: Perhaps not in the short run in the Western Sahara itself.

We hope at the summit in Libya, the seeming split within the OAU would have been settled.

But more importantly we hope the OAU will face the problem four squares.

It is not an easy problem, Alhaji Kabba.

It requires the goodwill of all the parties concerned in consonance with the people's right to self determination.

Question: There is an opinion in political circles not only in Sierra Leone but throughout the continent, that this country is putting you up as a candidate for the post of OAU Secretary General.

Could you confirm this?

Answer: In consultation with President Stevens' colleagues--African Heads of State and governments, it is contemplated to proffer my candidature for the post of Secretary General of the OAU.

I am prepared to serve in whatever capacity the government and the people deem necessary, whether at the domestic or international levels.

For I believe education after all is for service and service is its only reward.

Question: What as a Ministry do you see as the objective of this country's foreign policy in a nutshell?

Answer: Principally our objective as a country in terms of foreign relations is to make friends and to broaden areas of contact to strengthen bilateral and multilateral areas of understanding.

In this process to garner the fruits of international understanding and co-operation either bilaterally or multilaterally to help our development process as a country.

CSO: 4700/1530

NEW BOOK PROVIDES INSIGHT, BACKGROUND FOR TREURNICHT'S BREAK WITH NP

Insight in Treurnicht's Career

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 30 May 82 p 10

[Article by Louis Oosthuysen: "He Changed Colors Right Before Important Decisions"]

[Text] A remarkable story about how Dr A.P. Treurnicht changed colors several times at moments of decisive decision-making, is being revealed in a chapter on his career, which is part of the book "Quarrel Among Brothers," which deals with the split of the National Party [NP] earlier this year.

A discussion of the book follows.

In the chapter about Dr Treurnicht's career, under the title "From Piketberg to Waterberg," the story is told of the role he played as editor of DIE KERKBODE at the time of the Cottesloe deliberations. This is followed by the role he played as editor of the Pretoria afternoon newspaper HOOFTAD during the Afrikaner squabbles of the sixties and how he played cat and mouse with Dr Albert Hertzog and his followers.

After having served in the administration of various municipalities, he was appointed editor of DIE KERKBODE in 1960, the year of big storms in South Africa.

As far as church life is concerned, this was the year of the Cottesloe deliberations, following the stormy disturbances organized by the PAC [Pan African Congress] and the Sharpeville shooting which followed. In the aftermath of Cottesloe, Dr Treurnicht played a role which assured his rise within the church hierarchy, and which probably led to his landing in politics later on, because of his reputation for "conservatism."

The book notes: "Dr Treurnicht was a member of one of the study committees of the NGK [Dutch Reformed Church] of the Cape, which drew up reports on the Cottesloe negotiations. On the evening before the conference, DIE KERKBODE, which at first had remained silent, expressed its approval of it.

"Two weeks after the negotiations, DIE KERKBODE sharply criticized its conclusions. On 28 December 1960, Dr Treurnicht labeled some of the Cottesloe

conclusions as 'an unacceptable coup d'etat.' With this he also turned against the church leader Dr A.J. van der Merwe, who played an important role at Cottesloe."

When the NGK Synod of the Cape met 10 months later and, at the suggestion of Dr Koot Vorster, did not associate itself with Cottesloe, Dr Treurnicht also participated in the debate. He said that the origins of race tensions were reported one-sidedly and incompletely in the Cottesloe declaration, and that the uncertainty among South Africans is the result of liberalistic pressure.

Professor W.J. van der Merwe, from the Seminary of Stellenbosch, pointed out that Dr Treurnicht was a member of a study committee which prepared the documents for the Cottesloe deliberations, and that many of the conclusions were derived from the study report which Dr Treurnicht helped prepare.

Thereupon Professor Van der Merwe said that it was a pity that "he did not then enrich us with his knowledge as he did this afternoon."

The writers of the book then continued: "That which Professor Van der Merwe put into words was frequently obvious later, like the fact that after the fact Dr Treurnicht would covertly or rather openly attack decisions and statements made by fellow National Party members, about which he originally kept silent, including within policy making bodies... That which happened after Cottesloe also happened in other cases: that in due course Dr Treurnicht would turn against people or institutions with which he walked together a good way. The leaders of the Refounded National Party [HNP], with whom he refused at the eleventh hour to hang together, provided the most bitter comments of all on Dr Treurnicht's 'opportunism.'"

However, the Cottesloe episode assured Dr Treurnicht's rise. In 1965, he became assistant chairman of the Cape Synod and in 1966, assistant chairman of the General Synod of the NGK.

In 1967, he accepted the offer to become editor of the HOOFSTAD in Pretoria. Shortly before leaving Capetown he said that he would not feel flattered to be referred to as ultra-conservative, but it soon became clear that his newspaper quickly became the focus of ultra-rightist groups. Not only did the HOOFSTAD teem with far-right statements and neo-conservative propaganda, but Dr Treurnicht himself began to act as spokesman for and protector of the Hertzog group within the National Party, at a time of severe internal fights about the undermining of the then prime minister, Mr John Vorster.

In August 1968, Mr Vorster decided to expel Dr Hertzog from the cabinet, and the executive committee of the NP in Transvaal also took disciplinary steps against seven individuals, who were known as the "smear writers" against Mr Vorster. The action against the writers played a role in a controversial column which Dr Treurnicht wrote on 3 January 1968 in the HOOFSTAD. This was interpreted as an attack on Mr Vorster and on the government.

Dr Treurnicht wrote that too much is expected from the Afrikaners in order to obtain political cooperation from English speakers.

In his column, Dr Treurnicht complained that certain inhabitants of the Cape (whose names are not mentioned) are still in the National Party, while the smear writers were suspended. He also insinuated that supporters of "integration of the coloreds" are being tolerated in the National Party.

Dr Treurnicht, who was asked by Mr Vorster to become editor of the HOOFTSTAD, wrote among other things the following: "When some people get hold of the concept of renewal or new, they see visions and grow wings... New standards and principles can mean only one thing, and that is the rejection of Christian ethics and of the morals and traditions which have been built on them over the centuries. Is that what we want? No, thank you!"

Support for his position came in a public letter from 10 clergymen in which they wrote, among other things: "The guarantee of our continued existence is ever more seen in the unity of larger numbers of whites. And in order to place larger numbers of whites under the same religious and cultural roof, our Christian principles must be stretched and twisted and ultimately even replaced in order to bring all those who do not necessarily belong together out of conviction, together anyhow."

Hence, it is clear that Dr Treurnicht's position was grist for the mill of the radical right wingers. Later on, this article was also distributed as a pamphlet, which aroused violent reactions.

The internal fights within the National Party reached a high with Dr Albert Hertzog's "Calvinist" speech in the House of Assembly in April 1968. This aroused vehement reactions from, among others, Mr Vorster and Mr Ben Schoeman. But Dr Treurnicht happily defended the Hertzog group in his newspaper. On 30 April he wrote: "The question is, who deviates from the principles of the National Party and who rejects the Christian-National Party basis of our whole social, educational, political and national life. Without being falsely pious: Who stands by the Lord and His Word?"

Dr Hertzog and his followers were apparently convinced that Dr Treurnicht would join them. He was coopted for the committee for party development, but he declined. When some of them went to talk to him to find out where he stood, he allegedly said: "Fellows, you do know that I agree with everything you say, don't you, but can't we try another blow from the inside?"

On 10 October, he tried to defend himself in his column as follows: "As far as I am concerned, if there is a need to fight against mistaken positions taken by some National Party members (not to mention the opposition) -- and there is definitely a need to fight -- then I want to do it within the National Party. I am not in favor of a breaking away."

On 11 October, Dawie reacted in DIE BURGER by writing that, after hesitating, Dr Treurnicht had made a noise which sounded like "no" to the top leaders of the Hertzog group. "He said that he wants to continue to do within the party what Dr Hertzog now perforce will have to do from without. Without mincing words, this means to dismantle the party under the pretext of fighting bad influences within it. Thus, it comes down to the fact that he will maintain the same kind of relationship with the Hertzog group which they themselves, until recently, maintained covertly with Messrs S.E.D. Brown and Barry Botha."

## Background of NP Split

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 30 May 82 p 11

[Article by Louis Oosthuysen: "A Look Behind the NP Fights"]

[Text] Numerous interesting facts and stories which occurred behind the scenes in the internal fights of the National Party since the first speculations started that Mr John Vorster would resign as prime minister, appear in a book "Quarrel Among Brothers,"\* which is being published this week by Tafelberg.

The book was written by two assistant editors of DIE BURGER. They are Mr Alf Ries, who has been a member of the political team of National Newspapers since 1959, and who for several years already has been the senior reporter for National Newspapers, and Mr Ebbe Dommisse, who has also been a long time member of the political team.

The book attempts to tell in chronological order about the tensions and clashes which have occurred recently within the NP, most of which has erupted to the outside, but many details of what happened behind the scenes have never been told.

The book is especially valuable, not because it is complete in all respects -- as a matter of fact, numerous documents and the experience of many people were not available to the writers --, but because it provides better insight and better understanding of where it all began, and how the whole undermining process by the group which broke away earlier this year progressed, a process which had actually been going on without interruption.

An objective and factual picture of Dr A.P. Treurnicht's positions since the days when he was still editor of DIE KERKBODE, will be an eye opener for many people. If they read the book, they will certainly better realize why newspapers and politicians never really left Dr Treurnicht in peace about his actions and his statements.

As a matter of fact, it was easier for them to see his comings and goings in perspective, something which was not always possible for the proverbial man in the street.

In addition, especially Mr Ries, as political correspondent for so many years, was often personally present at what happened, for example, on the evening before the election of the top leader in September 1978, when Mr Pik Botha, in his hotel room in Capetown, dictated a letter of resignation from the cabinet, which he planned to hand to Mr John Vorster the next day.

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\* Quarrel Among Brothers, by Alf Ries and Ebbe Dommisse, published by Tafelberg Publishers, Capetown. The price is 11.50 rand. The book is already available in bookstores.

He just felt that he could not associate himself with the manner in which Mr John Vorster had handled the information scandal, especially after Mr Botha had heard the story the previous days from lawyer Rit van Rooyen and, on top of that, had to find out that Dr Connie Mulders would probably be subpoenaed to testify before Judge Anton Mostert, who set up an investigation into alleged currency violations.

Mr Botha was persuaded not to resign. Mr Ries possesses the only copy of that letter.

Another interesting fact which is only coming to light now is that, in a letter addressed to Mr Louis Nel, member of parliament for Pretoria-Central, Dr Treurnicht offered to apologize for the Bols joke which he told in a restaurant in Bloubergstrand in 1979.

Mr Nel was so upset by the joke that he objected in a letter addressed to Dr Treurnicht -- and distributed copies of the letter among members of parliament. As a result of this, he landed in so much trouble that he was ultimately suspended as member of the National Party. It took several months before he was reinstated.

On the day he received Mr Nel's letter, Dr Treurnicht also wrote a letter to Mr Nel. It reads:

"Dear Louis,"

"I received your letter. You are the very first person to have seen an indecent reference to male sex organs in the joke in question -- and I have told that old joke many times. I have never thought about it in those terms and I don't pretend to be any more innocent than any other person. This is simply not an association for me. My wife knows the joke and she has never yet warned me that it is indecent, for the simple reason that we do not quite make that connection."

"As for my reaction to the speech by Minister Fanie Botha, I have expressed my full appreciation of it and also explicitly denied a few negative references. Precisely because I was and am aware of the fact that some sensitivity may exist on the matter, it was consciously not my intention to strike a discordant note."

"I don't think that it is necessary to respond to the remainder of your letter. Colleagues have congratulated me of their own accord for my words, and the first person to whom I mentioned your reaction was dumbfounded."

"Nevertheless, I am willing to offer an apology and, as a matter of fact, I will start by offering it to Minister Fanie Botha."

"Greetings,"

"Andries Treurnicht."

Dr Treurnicht never carried out his offer to apologize. It was learned later that some of his followers persuaded him not to do it.

The book also talks very interestingly about the tensions behind the scene when Dr Treurnicht and Mr P.W. Botha clashed in 1980 about colored boys who were to participate in the Cravenweek. The story goes, for example, that Mr Koos van der Merwe, member of parliament for Jeppe, drew up a list of 42 names of people who would follow Dr Treurnicht if a split were to occur.

Another revelation is the fact that during that period of tension, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg resigned from the cabinet. He evidently felt uneasy about the manner in which Dr Treurnicht was treated by Mr Botha. He went to talk about it with Mr Hendrik Schoeman.

He told Mr Schoeman that he had resigned from the cabinet, and asked Mr Schoeman whether he would give his letter of resignation to Mr Botha. Mr Schoeman advised him to think about it. Later on, Dr Hartzenberg returned to Mr Schoeman and told him that he would definitely resign, to which Mr Schoeman responded that he should give the letter, which was written on an ordinary piece of paper, himself to Mr Botha, which he did.

All eyes were on the cabinet meeting of Tuesday, 11 March 1980, but when cabinet members left the meeting smiling, it was realized that a formula for peace had been found.

Dr Hartzenberg's letter of resignation was torn into pieces. "Later on, he was lightly reprimanded by the prime minister for having resigned in such a 'careless' manner -- evidently a reference to the paper on which he had written his resignation and to the fact that he wanted an intermediary to give it to the prime minister," the book notes.

The book discloses too many anecdotes to mention here. It is clear that the writers took care to be thoroughly informed about their facts. Thus, for example, a full account is given about who spoke at the caucus of 24 February of this year, when Dr Treurnicht and his followers refused to give their support to a motion of confidence in the prime minister.

The same applies to what happened at the meeting of the directing committee of the NP in Pretoria, on 27 February of this year.

Seen as a whole, the book can only be described as a sound piece of work which provides the reader with a good comprehensive impression of the course of events until the greatest split in the National Party for about 50 years.

Naturally, new perspectives about issues can gradually develop, but for a book which was published so closely after the events, it is an excellent piece of work which will definitely help future historians in their research.

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CSO: 4701/98

ASSORTED ARTICLES ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, DEBATES

Officials Investigate Housing, Towns

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Members of Parliament and Provincial Council Members Investigate Housing, Towns"]

[Text] Prime Minister P.W. Botha announced yesterday that bottlenecks relative to housing and the whole question of town development will be investigated by a committee.

The committee, which will be made up of members of parliament and of provincial council members, will investigate the following:

- Procedures and proposals to quickly establish housing lots which are within the means of people who want new housing by paying special attention to sustained calls for the simplification and acceleration of town development. This could be done by eliminating or streamlining obstructive statutory regulations, measures, procedures and practices;
- Procedures to transfer land to authorized institutions or any other measures in case the town development process does not progress as desired;
- Procedures to promote the use of land by, for example, permitting subdivision or the building of more than one housing unit on a lot or plot whenever circumstances allow it; and
- Any other procedures which could promote the supplying of a sufficient number of housing lots and reduce their costs.

Mr Botha said that general complaints are being heard about the availability of housing property. Accusations are being traded back and forth about red tape and stumbling blocks being put in the way of the public at large in terms of obtaining housing, irrespective of efforts made by the government.

The government felt that it wanted to carry out a thorough investigation.

Mr Botha noted in his statement that an investigative committee determined 5 years ago that the most important bottlenecks in the area of housing were

the high cost of building lots, delays in the development of new townships and the high standard of housing required.

Even though, thanks to the work of the Advisory Committee on Housing Affairs, the situation has been substantially improved with regard to uniform town development procedures, charges are still being made that there are not enough housing lots available at reasonable prices.

Problems concerning the completion of private town developments within a reasonable amount of time and the subdivision of land under existing ordinances are mentioned. The high price of housing lots is also attributed to the purported lengthy delays.

In order to pay renewed attention to these problems, the government decided to appoint an investigative committee.

#### Botha Calls for Calm

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Prime Minister Requests Calm for Reform"]

[Text] Prime Minister P.W. Botha said yesterday that he hopes the country will remain calm in order to give the government the opportunity to meet its responsibilities in terms of the constitutional reform.

The prime minister said during the third reading debate on the budget bill that the National Party [NP] congresses will to a large extent influence the government's decisions on the Presidential Council proposals concerning a new constitutional allocation. Afterwards, the final proposals will be considered by the House of Assembly.

#### Proposals

The Constitutional Committee of the House of Assembly may also discuss the proposals. The government has given the assurance that any proposals on constitutional reform will be studied by the committee.

In response to a question from Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party [NRP], Mr Botha said that the Presidential Council itself was a first step allowing whites, coloreds and Indians to deliberate and consult with one another. The NRP participated in this.

#### Consultation

The government is now consulting with the leaders of population groups which have not been consulted yet. After having done this, it also has an obligation toward its own party. The government will consult with the leaders and congresses of the NP, and the congresses will to a large extent influence the government decisions.

Because such a comprehensive negotiation process must take place, the government has said that people should be careful and not confuse everything by taking a premature stand.

When all the negotiations have taken place, then the House of Assembly and the Provincial Councils can give final consideration to the proposals relative to matters which affect them. All final proposals will have to be discussed by the House of Assembly and when this takes place the proposals will receive the attention of all the parties in parliament.

Mr Botha commented that he does not believe there is a fairer position on the matter.

#### Black Settlement Bill Introduced

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Bill to Select Committee"]

[Text] The bill on the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Individuals, which provides for a new allocation for blacks in urban areas, has been referred to the Select Committee on the Constitution.

This bill was introduced the day before yesterday by Dr Piet Koornhof, minister of cooperation and development, and published yesterday. Dr Koornhof proposed yesterday that the bill be referred to the Select Committee.

#### Free Market Economy Studied

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Presidential Council to Study Free Market"]

[Text] The Presidential Council will be asked to investigate the measures which limit the functioning of a free market economic system in South Africa, Prime Minister P.W. Botha announced yesterday.

The study will take into account the plural composition of South Africa's population, Mr Botha said during the third reading debate on the budget.

Factors which will be taken into account are:

- Proceedings through which it will be possible to make the advantages of the system known more widely to the benefit of the less sophisticated consumers;
- Proceedings through which it will be possible to convey consumer information primarily to the less informed and less sophisticated consumers;
- The furnishing of adequate services and an acceptable level of trade commodities in the various communities; and
- Steps through which potential entrepreneurs can be identified, motivated and equipped in order to make a greater contribution to economic development, especially for groups who have a small share in the economy.

Mr Botha also announced that the Presidential Council will also be asked to look into nature conservation and development, as well as how to respond to the great shortage in technical and scientific workers in South Africa.

The Presidential Council will also look into the principles according to which priorities can be set between conservation and development by referring to the relative importance of the land as a whole on the one hand, and physical development on the other, as well as the question of whether conservation is a goal in and of itself or whether it is only a means to an end.

The status of nature conservation in South Africa will be studied, including the national parks, the conservation of the natural heritage of the land for posterity and the financing of the conservation operation.

#### Opposition Leader Challenged

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Slabbert Challenged on Buthelezi Plan"]

[Text] The leader of the opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, should now candidly say whether he rejects the position of Captain Gatsha Buthelezi, which advocates a political system of one man one vote in a unitary state, Prime Minister P.W. Botha said yesterday.

Mr Botha noted during the third reading debate on the budget that Dr Slabbert had said in a speech that the struggle for full citizenship and freedom for everyone in South Africa is continuing, and that he and Captain Buthelezi should join hands in the struggle ahead.

This was just after Captain Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, had said there would be no need for a great constitutional change in South Africa. The blacks only have to be given universal suffrage. This would mean a system of one man one vote in a unitary state, the prime minister said.

In response to a question from Mr Botha, Dr Slabbert said that he still supports paragraph 8 of the interim report of the Schlebusch Committee, which states that the Westminster system is unacceptable without adjustments and that a one man one vote system in the current constitutional context would lead to the domination of minorities by a majority.

The prime minister said that Dr Slabbert must now state in public that he rejects Captain Buthelezi's constitutional plan and that he will fight it together with the government.

Dr Slabbert refused to respond to this, while other PFP [Progressive Federal Party] members made interjections.

"Are you also being led from behind," Mr Botha asked Dr Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert must effectively and actively help put an end to the agitation for one man one vote in a unitary state. The government will not even discuss this with Captain Buthelezi, Mr Botha said.

To this, Dr Slabbert said that he would discuss the matter with Captain Buthelezi at a national convention and open negotiations on it.

Mr Botha noted that this would be playing with fire. This is why the voters of South Africa do not trust the PFP with the most important cornerstone of the country: white self-determination.

Useless

Referring to the Presidential Council, Mr Botha said that Dr Slabbert claims that if the government does not accept all the council's proposals, the Council would be useless. The government has never said that it is obliged to accept everything proposed by the Presidential Council. Just as the Presidential Council is not obliged to accept everything that the government says.

Dr Slabbert himself acknowledged that he would not accept things at his national convention which are contrary to the PFP principles.

Mr Botha called on Dr Slabbert to call the "rowdy" backbenchers in his party, who claim that the NP is a more serious threat to South Africa than communism, to order. He also referred to the foolishness of some local Progressive Party newspapers which claim that communism is not a real threat to South Africa.

Even this week, a high security official from Mozambique requested asylum in South Africa and said that the Russians are taking over in Mozambique. How can the opposition and Dr Andries Treurnicht in his rush to score a small political point against the government, claim that the attack is being exaggerated?

In any case, Dr Treurnicht was constantly drawing during cabinet meetings, Mr Botha said.

Mr Koot van Stade (NP, Appointed): He must have been drawing turtles.

#### Opposition Leader Warns Government

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Slabbert Warns Government About Plan for South Africa"]

[Text] Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the opposition, said yesterday that in spelling out its guidelines for constitutional reform, the government relied more on the 1977 proposals than on the Presidential Council proposals, and that a few half-baked changes of constitutional law will not restrain the right wing, but rather make it grow.

During the third reading debate on the budget bill, Dr Slabbert noted that it is clear that the government rejects the guidelines for a consociational democracy as proposed by the Presidential Council. The question may now be raised as to whether the Presidential Council has had any relevance up to now in the process of constitutional development.

## Guidelines

"Hence, it is not surprising that conjecture has arisen that the government is trying to find new work for the Presidential Council in a new allocation. It almost appears that the minister of internal affairs could present a more complete package in one afternoon than the Presidential Council could manage in a year and a half."

The final government proposals should be judged within the following guidelines:

- Do they increase or decrease the polarization between whites and blacks?
- Do they actually contribute to the elimination of discrimination? and
- Do they promote full citizenship for all South Africans -- whites, coloreds and blacks?

"The guidelines convince us that an effective, peaceful constitutional development can take place only if negotiations and discussions occur among all sections of the population. Therefore we believe that it is dangerous and short-sighted to exclude blacks from the constitutional stipulations and to ensconce the whites -- or any other predominant group -- in constitutional plans which try to present the appearance of distribution of power."

The government will have to choose between an obstinate clinging to the status quo or the introduction of a systematic reform.

"One thing is clear: it is impossible to appease the right wing and to reform systematically. If the government tries to do this, it will not only destroy itself but also the possibility of peaceful change."

## Botha Attacks KP Members

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Prime Minister Attacks Hoon, Van Heerden -- KP of the Cape Has Trampled on Trust"]

[Text] Prime Minister Botha said yesterday that the two Conservative Party [KP] members from the Cape have trampled on their voters' trust and broken a solemn promise toward the National Party under whose banner they came to parliament.

"The will have to live with their consciences."

Mr Botha made a scathing attack on the two dissident members, Messrs Jan Hoon from Kuruman and Ferdi van Heerden from De Aar, and stated that, when they were nominated as NP candidates, the two members had signed a solemn promise to remain loyal to the NP and to submit to its discipline. This promise closes with: "Therefore God help me to keep on the right track."

Those two will have to live with their consciences and go tell the voters what they have done with that promise. These are people who made great personal sacrifices, among which monetary ones, and worked hard in the two widespread

electoral districts to get these two NP members elected to the House of Assembly. They have trampled on these people's trust, said Mr Botha, who participated in the third reading debate on the budget.

Mr Botha singled out Mr Van Heerden, who ran over to the KP on Monday, and noted that Mr Van Heerden had told him (Mr Botha) in the presence of a witness that he supported the NP after the original break away of the 17 KP members.

"I leave him with his conscience. His conscience is in the pocket of his pants," said Mr Botha.

At Saturday's joint caucus meeting of the NP he asked beforehand for absolute secrecy from those who were present, and gave those who could not comply with this the opportunity to leave the hall. During the meeting, Mr Van Heerden did not ask a single questions and at the end he only said that he could not support the NP.

Thus, Mr Van Heerden must have decided before that time that he would not go along with the NP. And when he (Mr Botha) told reporters from English speaking newspapers after the meeting that there was only one negative vote, they knew immediately that it was Mr Van Heerden who had voted against the guidelines, stated Mr Botha.

The National Party in Kuruman and De Aar is strong enough to survive this crisis. The voters will reject these two members.

"They will show you what one does with turncoats."

#### Coloreds Should Purchase Land

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Coloreds Must Buy Land for Homeland: KP"]

[Text] Coloreds and Indians must be given full rights to self-determination within their own areas and if these areas are to be consolidated, then the coloreds and Indians should themselves buy the land necessary for this consolidation, said Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (KP, Lichtenburg) yesterday during the third reading debate on the budget.

Dr Hartzenberg noted that his party supports this policy, because the KP rejects all forms of political integration and division of power at all levels.

The areas within which the coloreds and Indians should be given the right to self-determination, should be such that a maximum number of these groups can be settled within them.

Earlier in his speech, Dr Hartzenberg noted that the difference between the Presidential Council proposals and what the government will ultimately adopt, will be due to the existence of the KP. "If it weren't for the Conservative Party, the government would adopt all the proposals from the Presidential Council."

Mr Chris Heunis, minister of internal affairs, and Mr Keppies Niemann (NP, Kimberley-South) wanted to know why Dr Hartzenberg had split then.

Dr Hartzenberg: "If we had stayed we would not have accomplished anything because you would have run over us."

#### Conservative Party Chided

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "Koornhof Attacks KP"]

[Text] Dr Piet Koornhof, minister of cooperation and development, said yesterday evening that the Conservative Party has the power to release dangerous powers in the area of white/black relations in South Africa, and that it is the responsibility of Dr Andries Treurnicht to stop this.

In a serious speech, which became stormy at times, Dr Koornhof stated that Dr Treurnicht is certainly one of the greatest dividers ever produced by the Afrikaner people.

Dr Koornhof noted that he negotiates daily with black leaders and that he shudders to tell what the black leaders say about the KP.

The Cillie Committee, which investigated the 1976 disturbances, found that the policy on the language of instruction and its manipulation was one of the primary causes of the disturbances. At that time, Dr Treurnicht was deputy minister for Bantu education and thus responsible for this matter.

Now that Dr Treurnicht and his people have broken away from the NP, they should guard against releasing powers in the country which will cause South Africa to perish in violence.

He had always been loyal to Dr Treurnicht as leader of Transvaal, but it now appears that Dr Treurnicht was undoubtedly one of the greatest dividers of the Afrikaner people since the Boer War. His dividing action started with Cottesloe. This went on from his capital days, when he colluded with S.E.D. Brown and Beaumont Schoeman, until now.

He sharply attacked the KP on the manner in which it involves churches in politics: "I want to warn you, don't, as with 'Die Patriot,' deal lightly with matters which are holy to the Afrikaners. You will wear the sign of the people who have divided the population and have let it perish."

## Botha Attacks KP Leaders

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 22

[Article: "People Behind Dr Treurnicht Forced Him Out of Cabinet"]

[Text] Prime Minister P.W. Botha said yesterday that Drs Andries Treurnicht and Ferdi Hartzenberg did not freely resign from the cabinet but were, in his opinion, forced out by the people behind them.

Mr Botha responded, during the third reading debate on the budget, to a speech made by Dr Treurnicht earlier in the debate, and noted that Dr Treurnicht has already had three opportunities to outline his direction in the House of Assembly. "I don't know anyone, except for him, who knows where he is heading."

### Signatures

"He was a member of my cabinet. I appointed him to that position. I would like to tell him that he has disappointed me for the umpteenth time."

The prime minister -- who said that he was not speaking in a spirit of bitterness toward Dr Treurnicht -- confronted the leader of the Conservative Party with statements he made when he was still leader of the Transvaal National Party.

While Mr Botha spoke, the KP leader for the most part stared fixedly ahead and wrote something on a piece of paper.

Mr Botha stated that it is a pity that Dr Treurnicht is now contributing to the damaging of the party which he once helped lead. Dr Treurnicht has, together with other party leaders, signed certain documents, such as the election manifesto of the NP and the action program.

"We have made commitments toward the country with our signatures."

Dr Treurnicht now boasts of the 18 members behind him. They got to where they are under the banner of the NP.

While they were in the NP they did not tell the country that there were things they had doubts about -- they did, however, whisper and count heads following the first brief session of parliament last year and at other times.

The prime minister quoted from the program of principles of the NP in which it is said, among other things, that the party endeavors to achieve justice for all population groups in the country.

### Turn About

Dr Treurnicht also signed the action program. In it, it is said that the NP stands for the distribution of power among whites, coloreds and Indians within a system of consultation and joint responsibility, where it touches on common issues.

Mr Botha noted that this was exactly the task which had been assigned to the Presidential Council. Drs Treurnicht and Hartzenberg accepted full responsibility for this. Dr Hartzenberg even helped with the appointment of Dr Joggie van Osweigen to the Presidential Council.

They are now driving about the country and accusing their former colleagues of digressing from NP policy. Dr Treurnicht portrays himself as the one who stands for the preservation of the Afrikaners and of white rights.

Mr Botha quoted extensively from Dr Treurnicht's speech at the Transvaal congress following the election. In it, among other things, Dr Treurnicht attacked the right. He said that if people do not have better principles, they should not manufacture differences. They should not chase people, who belong together in terms of principles and policy, into different camps.

Within a few months, however, Dr Treurnicht made a turn about and is now doing everything he said people should not do, said Mr Botha.

The prime minister stated that many people in the past had tried to force the NP to its knees and had not succeeded. Dr Treurnicht will not succeed either.

#### Start To Count Heads

Dr Treurnicht uses his (Mr Botha's) statement, in which he clarified a healthy distribution of power, as an excuse to explain why he and his fellow KP members broke away. However, this is not the real reason. KP members had decided to break off long before that statement was made and weeks earlier they had begun to count heads. Furthermore, Dr Treurnicht also refuses to say what direction he wants to go with South Africa.

He made it clear in his statement that his interpretation of the concept of distribution of power differs greatly from the interpretation attached to it by the PFP. The leader of the opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, agrees, said the prime minister. However, he himself prefers the idea of joint responsibility, which is a form of healthy distribution of power without violating the right to self-determination of the population groups involved, stated Mr Botha.

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PW BOTHA RESHUFFLES CABINET

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 pp 1-2

[Article by Keith Abendroft and Sapa]

[Text]

**THREE new Cabinet Ministers and six new Deputy Ministers were named by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in a major Cabinet reshuffle last night.**

Only one Minister was dropped in the reshuffle, namely the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Hennie Smit, who has accepted "a high Government post" which he will take up later this year or early next year.

The Prime Minister announced his reshuffle at a Press conference in Pretoria.

One new portfolio was created, that of Constitutional Development. This will be handled by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, whose portfolio will be taken over by the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk.

The new Cabinet will

be sworn in in Pretoria on August 2.

**Ministers**

The three new Ministers are Mr Sarel Hayward (Environment and Fisheries — formerly Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries); Mr J J G Wentzel (Agriculture — formerly Deputy Minister of Development and

Land Affairs); and Mr D W Steyn (Education and Training--formerly Deputy Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism).

Twelve of the portfolios remain unchanged. They are: Mr P W Botha (Prime Minister); Mr S P Botha (Manpower); Dr P G J Koornhof (Co-operation and Development); Mr Hendrik Schoeman (Transport Affairs); Mr Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs and Information).

Mr Louis le Grange (Law and Order); Dr Gerrit Viljoen (National Education); General Magnus Malan (Defence); Mr Kobie Coetsee (Justice); Mr S F Kotze (Community Development); Mr Owen Horwood (Finance); Mr Dawie de Villiers (Industries, Commerce and Tourism).

### Changes

The other Ministers who remain in the Cabinet, but under different portfolios are:

Mr Chris Heunis (Constitutional Development); Mr F W de Klerk (Internal Affairs); De L A P A Munnik (Posts and Telecommunications); Dr C V (Nak) van der Merwe (Health); Mr Pietie du Plessis (Mineral and Energy Affairs).

### New life

The reshuffle, too, is aimed at putting new life into the waning and staff crisis struck Public Service with the appointment of Mr De Klerk as Minister of In-

ternal Affairs.

The former Minister of this portfolio, Mr Heunis, is appointed Minister of the new Department of Constitutional Development with the aim of liaising closely with the State President's Council and co-ordinating and speeding up constitutional development.

Mr Botha told a Press conference at the Union Buildings that of the four new Deputy Ministers, one, Mr Barend du Plessis, was being appointed Deputy Minister of Information to give impetus to determination to improve Government-Press relationships following criticism by the Steyn Commission of these relationships.

Mr Du Plessis (42) is a former school teacher and is now a company director.

### Vacancies

Mr Botha said the appointment of Mr Van der Walt and Mr Venter (MP for Klerksdorp and Deputy Chairman

of the Assembly — would create vacancies which would be filled later this year.

Mr Heunis, in his new post, would have to "feel his way" as constitutional developments accelerated and he would work to co-ordinate and streamline implementation of developments.

"The appointment of Mr Heunis does not mean that more importance will be attached to the workings of the State President's Council — that body is already a vitally important one.

"But the Government is anxious to co-ordinate all matters relating to constitutional development."

Mr De Klerk's appointment mirrored the very serious way in which the Government viewed the Public Service.

Mr De Klerk was a dedicated and energetic Minister who would be directly responsible for the dynamic development of the Public Service.

"His appointment reflects the very serious

light in which the Government regards the situation," Mr Botha said.

Two Deputy Ministers' portfolios stay unchanged. They are Dr G de V Morrison (Deputy Minister of Co-operation), and Mr P J Badenhorst (Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs).

Deputy Minister, Mr P Cronje, has a new portfolio — Welfare and Community Development.

### Deputies

The new Deputy Ministers are: Mr John Wiley (MP Simons-town), Environmental Affairs and Fisheries; Mr H J D van der Walt (Nominated), Co-operation and Land Affairs; Mr G J Kotze (Malmesbury) Deputy Minister of Agriculture; Mr B J du Plessis (Florida) Information; Mr A A Venter (Klerksdorp) Industries; Mr E van der M Louw (Namaqualand) Finance.

The reshuffle is seen as a bid to smooth the path to a new constitutional pattern for the Republic.

CABINET RESHUFFLE INDICATES BOTHA'S INTEREST

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Jul 82 p 6

[Editorial: "The Cabinet"]

[Text]

**YOU NEED** not have any doubt anymore. Mr PW Botha is going ahead with reform. His Cabinet changes confirm this. Mr Chris Heunis, the man who is generally regarded as the architect of reform, has been given the key post of Minister of Constitutional Development.

He will now co-ordinate all matters relating to constitutional development, the Prime Minister says.

The burden placed on Mr Heunis is a very heavy one, because what he does will not only determine the country's constitutional future but also the fate of his party and of the folk.

We can only hope that he acts wisely —and with care.

We are pleased that the leader of the Transvaal National Party, Mr FW de Klerk, has been promoted to the important portfolio of Internal Affairs.

Mr De Klerk is an able administrator, and in his new office he will be directly responsible for the dynamic development of the public service, which at present is suffering a serious staff shortage.

Mr De Klerk at the same time will have to rebuild his party's fortunes in the Transvaal, where the Treurnichtite breakaway has done the most damage and where there is a Right-wing challenge both from the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale Parties.

Mr Hennie Smit, who has been known more for his statement about the Blacks having slow thought processes than for any particular achievement as Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, has been dropped from the Cabinet — and will not be missed.

Dr LAPA Munnik, who as Minister of Health also made some unfortunate

statements, like pensioners being able to live well on R20 a month, has surprisingly been retained, but in the position of Minister of Posts and Telecommunications. Since that portfolio need not bring the Minister into public controversy, we don't think he should have much reason to put his foot into it in the future. But one never knows.

A couple of other Cabinet Ministers, Dr Nak van der Merwe and Mr Pietie du Plessis, have new portfolios — Health and Mineral and Energy Affairs respectively — and three Deputy Ministers have been promoted to the Cabinet, while otherwise remains unchanged.

Among the six new Deputy Ministers, chief interest will be in the choice of the verligte Mr Barend du Plessis as Deputy Minister of Information.

He is a close political ally of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Information, Mr Pik Botha, under whom the SABC falls.

The two in tandem, as Minister and Deputy Minister of Information, will be able to exercise a great deal of authority over the SABC, especially television, which has become the Government's chief propaganda medium.

Mr Du Plessis has been given the task of improving the Government's relationship with the Press, in the light of Steyn

Commission criticisms, and it will be interesting to see how he performs that task, especially now that the Government has enacted a law under which the Press will "voluntarily" be disciplined to the Government's satisfaction, or else . . .

Another appointment of interest is that of Mr John Wiley as Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Fisheries, the latter being a subject on which he is something of an expert.

He is the second English-speaking member of the Government, the other being Mr Herwood, the Minister of Finance. It is a pity there are not one or two others in an almost exclusively Afrikaner Government, particularly as the Government will increasingly need English-speaking support for its reform plans.

In wishing the Cabinet and Deputy Ministers success in their endeavours, we are conscious of the great problems confronting South Africa at the present time and the need for the Government to give the country the dynamic leadership without which it cannot overcome its problems.

South Africa is moving in new directions, whether a great number of conservatives accept this or not.

Let it move wisely, for what is done in the next couple of years will determine the future of all of us.

# CONFUSION OVER WHO IS NOW IN CONTROL OF INGWAVUMA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Tim Clarke]

[Text]

**DURBAN.** — Confusion reigned in the Ingwavuma area of Zululand yesterday as both the KwaZulu Government and the Department of Co-operation and Development tried to sort out who in fact was now in control of the area.

Mr E F Oltman, secretary to the head of the KwaZulu nation, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday in a telephone interview there was "considerable confusion" and at this stage he could not say definitely which government administered Ingwavuma.

The confusion is a sequel to the judgment handed down by a full bench of the Natal Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday night that a second proclamation by the State President, placing the disputed area of Ingwavuma under the control of the Department of Co-operation and Development was now invalid.

Yesterday, after the court ruling, the KwaZulu Government instructed health, welfare, agriculture, forestry and works departments to resume work in the disputed territory.

However, they held

back on sending the justice official, a magistrate, to the town of Ingwavuma itself, while the confusion prevailed.

According to the attorney for the KwaZulu Government, the appeal lodged on Wednesday night by the State against the Supreme Court decision, has suspended the court's order.

According to the KwaZulu attorney, the South African Government is now back in control in the area.

KwaZulu officials who were interviewed at Ulundi, the capital of Zululand, said yesterday the situation was "highly confusing."

Mr Oltman said KwaZulu wanted to minimise the effect the legal wrangle was having on the 97 000 residents in the area.

The Department of Co-operation and Development is believed to have sent at least six civil servants to Ingwavuma after the first proclamation of June 18 taking away the area from KwaZulu and placing it in the department's hands.

KwaZulu lawyers said yesterday that there now appeared to be two options open to Ulundi to get the dis-

strict placed back under KwaZulu's control.

According to one of the attorneys who appeared in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme court on Wednesday, the first option was to ask the full Bench of the Natal Supreme Court for an order granting interim relief until the appeal had been heard.

He said that because an appeal usually took about two years before being heard by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein, it was essential to get the interim decision on who exactly would control the area.

The second option was to have the ruling of the first court case, heard by Mr Justice Shearer in the Durban Supreme Court last Friday enforced.

He was of the opinion that this could involve proving that the South African Government authorities who were now in control of Ingwavuma were in contempt of that first court ruling.

The Citizen learnt yesterday that officials from both KwaZulu and the department were

only staying a few kilometres from Ingwavuma, waiting to see who is in charge.

In a Natal Provincial Council debate on the issue in Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday a motion calling on the Government to hold referendum as soon as possible to canvass views of those affected by the proposed hand-over was passed.

The motion was passed after a five-hour debate and after the five-man National Party opposition in the council kept up a sustained attack on the motion and expressed full confidence in the Government's handling of the controversial issue.

The motion called on the Government to reconvene Parliament if necessary, after noting that the Natal Provincial Council did not have the power itself to hold a referendum.

The senior MEC in the province, Mr Frank Martin, said during the debate the Government did not appear to be aware of the consequences of its actions, taken without consultation with the people concerned.

POLICE TESTIMONY DENIES PURPORTED AGGETT COMPLAINTS

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 p 2

[Article: "Aggett Never Complained of Being Assaulted"]

[Text] Johannesburg -- A captain of the Security Police testified yesterday in magistrate's court that in November of last year, he had taken two warrants to a house and had taken Dr Neil Aggett into custody for promoting the aims of the African National Congress.

Several books and documents relating to his political activities were also seized.

Captain Jacob C. Strauss testified that on 27 November he received a search warrant and a warrant for the arrest for interrogation of Dr Aggett.

About 6:15 that evening, he and other members of the police department went to a house in Crown Mines, where he found Dr Aggett and his friend, Dr Elizabeth Floyd.

Documentary Evidence

"I told him that I was taking him into custody for promoting the aims of the ANC. Afterwards we went to a residence at 420A Foxstraat. In the presence of Dr Aggett, I seized several pieces of documentary evidence which would be used later on in the prosecution."

He had questioned Dr Aggett in the car with regard to his activities with the ANC and the unions, but he "refused to answer any questions."

In response to a question from counselor D. Kuny, lawyer for the Aggett family, Captain Strauss admitted that the warrant had been for detention and not taking into custody. However, he did take him into custody.

Counselor Kuny: "On what charge did you take him into custody?"

Captain Strauss: "For promoting the goals of the ANC."

Counselor Kuny: "Was he ever brought before a court within 48 hours on this charge?"

Captain Strauss: "I don't know. I only took him into custody."

According to Captain Strauss, Dr Aggett was never assaulted in his presence.

Adjutant Officer Walter McPherson, attached to the security branch at the John Vorsterplein prison for people arrested by the Security Police, also testified that Dr Aggett never mentioned to him that he had been assaulted.

On 4 January he complained of backpain. He wanted to send him to a doctor, but Dr Aggett said that he wanted to take a pain pill.

He also testified that he had seen Dr Aggett nearly every day and that he had not noticed any change in his appearance or behavior. He never caused any problems and carried out all orders.

#### Key

Adjutant Officer Johannes Stephanus Marais, who was in charge at the police station on the evening of 5 February, testified that he was entitled to use the sealed duplicate key, which gives access to the cells of those arrested by the Security Police, in cases of emergency. However he went without that key to the cell after Sergeant James Achenbach told him that Dr Aggett was dead in his cell.

#### Summoned

Yesterday, a statement by Mr Maurice Smithers, who was arrested together with Dr Aggett, was presented to magistrate Kotze. He issued an order to the effect that Mr Smithers must be summoned to testify.

The investigation is continuing.

Magistrate Kotze is being assisted by Professor L.S. Smith. Lawyers P.G. Haasbroek and Andre de Vries are presiding over the testimony, and lawyer P.J. Schabert, senior counsel, assisted by lawyer S. Burger, are appearing for the Minister of Law and Order and the Police.

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CSO: 4701/92

IRA CHALLENGE TO PFP FOR HILLBROW SEAT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Jul 82 p 9

[Article by Marilyn Cohen]

[Text]

**THE** Progressive Federal Party can start preparing itself for a fight in the Hillbrow municipal by-election next month.

The Independent Ratepayers' Action group, headed by the chairman of the Johannesburg Management Committee, Mr Francois Oberholzer will contest the seat vacated by the PFP's Mr Simon Chilchik.

Mr Mike Levin, who unsuccessfully stood for the IRA in nearby Bellevue in the March municipal elections will be their candidate in Hillbrow.

He told The Citizen yesterday he had already started canvassing the flatland ward.

Mr Levin made his de-

cision to contest the ward after it became known that Mr Chilchik, who resigned from the city council because of financial difficulties, would definitely not stand for re-election.

"Hillbrow voted for Simon Chilchik because he was Simon Chilchik and I would not have thought of opposing him," Mr Levin said.

"Not only is he a friend of mine, but we have the same ideas of looking after the pensioners, the aged and the flat dwellers who are being subjected to a continual rent squeeze in Hillbrow.

"We differ only over the PFP policy of opening Hillbrow to all races. I want Hillbrow to remain White."

Meanwhile the New

Republic Party has still not decided whether or not to contest the seat.

"We are looking at Hillbrow in the context of our entire Johannesburg strategy and we will take a decision on the matter this week," Mr Edmund Elias, regional chairman of the NRP said yesterday.

Should the NRP contest the seat, Mr Levin may decide not to stand as "I don't want a three-cornered fight."

Nominations close at 3 pm on August 11.

The PFP will decide on Thursday which of the three men nominated for the party's candidature will contest the election. All three, Mr Ivor Cohen, Mr Cecil Bass and Mr Tom Leff stood unsuccessfully for the PFP in the March elections.

CSO: 4700/1544

BATTLE BETWEEN RIGHTWING PARTIES LOOMS IN GERMISTON

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Jul 82 p 9

[Text]

THE first shots in the Germiston district provincial by-election have been fired, with Rightwing parties claiming a "massive" anti-Government vote is looming.

Nomination day is on Thursday and the by-election is already shaping up into a battle of the Right, with the National Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party likely to be the only parties to contest the seat.

So far all three parties have announced their candidates.

It is unlikely that the Progressive Federal Party or the New Republic Party will enter the by-election.

The NP has nominated Mr Flip van der Walt, the HNP Mr Jack Myburgh and the CP Mr Willem Guy.

By nominating candidates the HNP and the CP have squashed all talk of a possible pact against the NP.

Senior HNP officials claim they have had 1 001 signatures accepted by the electoral returning officer, against about 800 accepted from the CP.

The HNP forecasts a total HNP vote of about 3 000 and a CP vote of about 1 500. The resulting "anti-Government" vote of 4 500 will land the NP "in deep trouble," HNP officials say.

The NP had little more than token resistance in the seat from the old United Party in 1974 and the PFP in 1977.

In 1981 Mrs Bessie Scholtz was returned unopposed as the National Party Member of Parliament and Mr Ben van den Berg as NP Member of the Provincial Council.

But Mrs Scholtz has since joined the CP. The resignation of Mr Van den Berg for business reasons has led to the by-election.

CSO: 4700/1544

## TWO SA FARMS GO TO VENDA IN 'FINAL' DEAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Marilyn Cohen]

[Text]

### LOUIS TRICHARDT.

— Only two White farms are to be affected by what the Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, last night announced as "the final consolidation of Venda".

He conceded however, that he could not speak for the Venda Government and he did not know if Venda would at some stage in the future lay any further claims to South African land including Louis Trichardt and Messina.

Addressing a Press conference on the final consolidation, Mr Botha, in whose parliamentary constituency the affected land falls, said South Africa was to receive a total of 48 000 ha from Venda while Venda was to receive 33 000 ha from South Africa.

### Retain

Venda was also to retain another 20 000 ha of land which had been in dispute.

This last piece of land is the only part of Venda not linked in any way to the main body of the State. It is separated by a White corridor of land which includes Louis Trichardt.

Mr Botha said Venda had agreed to give a strip of land on its

northern boundary known as the "Limpopo Corridor" to South Africa.

### Militarised

The Limpopo Corridor, he said, was a militarised zone and it was right on the Zimbabwe border and was completely uninhabitable. In exchange Venda was to receive the Nwanedzi farms — an area of 50 000 ha with a well developed infrastructure.

All White farms in this area had been expropriated over the years. The only two White farms affected by the consolidated plans were on the western side of Venda and were called "Lukin and Salata."

### Bought

Mr Botha said these farms would have to be bought. Right in the south of Venda, the farms in the Elimkop, Bandelierkop and Seckmekaar areas which had previously been expropriated for Venda are now to be returned to South Africa.

Farms in this area would be advertised in the normal way and sold to South African farmers, Mr Botha said.

Another area which had been in dispute, the Entabeni forest reserves, which had always belonged to South Africa would now become a joint development project of the two countries. The land would, however, remain South African property.

#### Projects

Mr Botha said the way was open for more joint development projects between the two countries — either in Venda or South Africa. Asked if this were indeed the final consolidation plan for Venda, Mr Botha replied: "As far as I am aware, there is no outstanding ground to be discussed at present. The areas I have mentioned were the only ones considered by the South African Government."

When it was put to him that President Patrick Mphahlele of Venda had said in 1969, on the first anniversary of his

country's independence, he wanted Louis Trichardt, Tshipise, Messina, Soekmekaar, and Levubu — Mr Botha acknowledged that these areas had "been mentioned in the past but they had never been considered by the South African Government.

#### Issue

"If the issue of these areas is raised again, it will have to be put to the Department of Foreign Affairs but I cannot see Louis Trichardt or Messina being given to Venda," he said.

Asked whether Venda had not laid claim to a finger of Gazankulu territory which almost splits the southernmost section of Venda from the main body of the state, Mr Botha said: "I don't think Gazankulu would be glad to part with this land. It has been well developed by them."

CSO: 4700/1544

## CISKEI BATTENS DOWN THE HATCHES

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 2 Jul 82 p 10

[Text]

**A TRIP** through the newly "independent" Ciskei leaves the traveller with thoughts on agriculture and conservation and a romantic admiration for the apparent tranquility of the traditional African lifestyle.

The traveller may ponder, for a brief moment, on problems of soil erosion and overgrazed land or on animals that stray through broken fences onto national roads. But, he will wonder, with a touch of envy, about the old man leaning on his hoe in a land or the children in rags who merrily chased the cow in the road and waved as he drove off — a far cry from the five o'clock city traffic jam.

This peaceful picture is the one President Lennox Sebe would like to show to the world. Investors and industrialists may be frightened off if they believed Ciskei was instable, he has often said.

Yet a glance at media reports of recent months indicate that Ciskei is not as peaceful as Chief Sebe would like it to be and not all are satisfied with the status quo.

**DETAINED**

At least 19 people have been detained since April. Some have appeared in court on charges under the Terrorism Act. Others are yet to be charged and their cases are still being investigated.

Chief Sebe has told the national Assembly of three "terrorist" encounters in Mdantsane. Ciskei security forces conducted a blitz from June 16 to 26 and had confiscated large quantities of pamphlets of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress and arrested a large number of people, he told the Assembly this week. Chiefs and headmen had been issued with firearms as "a means to fight terrorism", Chief Sebe told the Assembly.

At the time Chief Sebe announced an encounter with "terrorists" he assured the House that the State was safe because of the work of the sons of the Ciskei in the security forces.

**POWERS**

Last week the National Security Bill, which gives wide-ranging powers to Commander-General

of Security, Charles Sebe, was read a third time.

Chief Sebe, delivering the second reading of the Bill, said there were "drastic measures" in parts of the legislation. "But we believe those to be a necessary and fair set of counter-measures to defend our orderly society against the forces of anarchy and revolution."

The Bill, which repeals 34 Acts, including the dreaded Emergency Proclamation R252 under which most security arrests were made, is based partly on the Rabie Commission report.

Chief Sebe said the Bill was not intended to oppress but to maintain the sovereignty of the State and the safety of its people.

When enacted it will make Charles Sebe all-powerful with authority to decide on who will be detained or restricted, what organisations are unlawful, what newspapers may be registered or what slogans, salutes or songs should be prohibited, to name but a few of the amendments.

An associate profes-

sor of African Politics at Rhodes University. Prof Nancy Chantou, has described the Bill as the reaction of a small, frightening elite feeling threatened by a build-up of opposition.

"A government which is very vulnerable and weak should be building up legitimacy among the people, but a measure like this is only going to alienate all the people from the homeland system.

"It is highly shortsighted to rely on the force of arms," she said.

Prof John Dugard, of the Centre of Applied Legal Studies, said the Ciskei Bill showed the clear influence of the Rabie Commission report and the South African Internal Security Act which meant that the laws were being modelled on the "repressive laws of the Republic".

"Surely the South African Government, which claims to be influenced by Christian, Western values, could set a better example to its offspring than it has done."

Whether the criticism, the Bill has made Charles Sebe the most powerful person in Ciskei which has a population of 666 000-odd people — a position he could never have dreamt of when he joined the

South African Police Force in 1957.

Charles Sebe has had a career which can only be described as extraordinary. He served in both the uniformed and security branches of the South African Police Force before becoming a founder-member of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services in 1977.

He has maintained a close link with his South African counterparts and the two still work in close co-operation. His rise through the ranks of the police force in Ciskei has been rapid and today, after five years, he holds the rank of major-general.

Charles Sebe has devoted his life to fighting communism in whatever form he may see it. "I know the communists are after my blood, but I cannot be killed by heathens. God has spoken to me. He won't kill me until communism is eradicated from South Africa."

He said recently: "Without fear of doubt in my mind I believe that we will overcome."

His communist fight includes vetting the work of poets lest a message be hidden between the lines.

Charles Sebe takes pains to emphasise that he is only a professional security man and not a politician. Often he will refuse to comment on an

issue which has political implications as, "I am a security man".

As a true professional his telephone interviews are short and abrupt and often end with "roger" as in two-way radio conversations.

#### THE AXE

Despite portraying the intelligence officer image, it is well known that Charles Sebe wields considerable power in the Ciskei Government. It is rumoured that he played a leading part in the axing of former advisor to the President, Rowan Cronje, earlier this year.

He also has a say in the allocation of houses, employment, school entrance and many other basic issues in Ciskei and deals with potential industrialists and financiers.

Charles Sebe, wiry and athletic and always on the go, had to work from home for a week recently owing to poor health. Last week, however, he looked perfectly fit barring some bad acne spots. "My doctor says I am the healthiest man in Ciskei," he said.

Ciskei's new Bill has drawn no response from the ordinary citizen. Many are too intimidated to talk openly. Others believe the Bill will have no significant effect.

# TEARGAS FIRED AT MARCHING STRIKERS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jul 82 p 11

[Text]

**TONGAAT.** — Police fired teargas cannisters into a group of marching strikers as they entered Tongaat, on the north coast, on Thursday.

About 2 000 workers from the Tongaat's group's David Whitehead-Factory marched from the factory to a meeting at a Tongaat Hotel. Women workers were taken there by the union by bus.

The police who followed the marching workers, blocked off a side-street and then fired three teargas cannisters into the crowd.

Workers streamed up another side-street in an attempt to escape the gas.

Brigadier John Visser, Port Natal's Divisional Commissioner, confirmed that "a few teargas cannisters" had been used because workers "failed to com-

ply with an instruction to disperse".

A spokesman for the Fosatu-affiliated National Union of Textile Workers condemned this "unprovoked attack by the police" and said their "intervention had inflamed the whole situation".

Earlier in the day a notice issued by the company said that unless the workers returned to work by "normal shift", they "will be regarded as no longer in the employment of David Whitehead".

The company has approved an average wage increase of 23,6 percent.

A Fosatu spokesman said, however, the issue had been the incorporation of the living-out allowance into the increase.

"The company's enforcement of an unacceptable and highly confusing principle has led to the strike."

CSO: 4700/1527

# MINERS GO BACK TO WORK

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 p 3

[Text]

**TRANSVAAL** mines which have been plagued by unrest during the past few days, were nearly back to normal yesterday.

According to a Glen-  
cor spokesman, the situ-  
ation was under control  
at Buffelfontein, Stil-  
fontein and Grootvlei. A  
total of 95 percent of the  
workforce had re-  
turned to work at the  
Impala platinum mines.

A spokesman for the  
Gold Fields Mining  
Company, said produc-  
tion had returned to nor-  
mal at the West and East  
Driefontein mines, as  
well as at the Kloof  
mine.

The spokesman  
added, however, that at  
the West Driefontein  
mine 1 233 workers out  
of 12 000 had been re-  
turned to their home-  
lands. At the East Drie-  
fontein, about 200 and at  
Kloof 13 workers had  
been sent back.

## Dissatisfied

Mining sources have  
said that the Black  
underground workers  
were dissatisfied with  
last week's 12 percent  
pay rise and were dissat-  
isfied with surface work-  
ers in "safe jobs" being  
awarded 11 percent  
wage increases.

Meanwhile, unrest  
broke out yesterday at  
the Venterspos gold  
mine, near Westonaria.

A police spokesman  
said in Pretoria that 80  
out of a 1 800-man  
underground shift had  
downed tools yesterday  
morning after incidents  
of intimidation by about  
100 men.

Several Black mine-  
workers at the Dunnocol  
coal mine at Danhauser  
were arrested after  
going on strike and se-  
riously damaging mine  
property.

A police spokesman in  
Pretoria confirmed that  
about 600 miners went  
on strike on Monday at 5  
am.

It is believed that the  
men went on strike after  
a dispute over wages at  
the mine.

Police and members of  
the mine security sec-  
tion used sneeze gas and  
police dogs to control the  
strikers.

The strikers started  
throwing stones at a  
beerhall, and at number  
5 shaft, they burnt out a  
tractor. Windows at the  
hostel were also broken.  
Nobody was injured and  
after a number of mine  
workers had been ar-  
rested, everything was  
under control.

## CAPETOWN SQUATTERS CAN BUILD SHELTERS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Jul 82 p 5

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The year-long struggle by about 700 squatters for legal status in the Western Cape took a new turn on Tuesday when about 100 of them were granted permission by the Administration Board to erect temporary homes near Crossroads.

The site is about 30 m from the no-name squatter camp where their battle to live legally in the Western Cape with their families began.

The squatters were granted permission to erect shelters after they were evicted from the grounds of the Holy Cross Church in Nyanga.

They were asked to leave because the church, which had accommodated them for three months, felt it was the Government's responsibility to house them.

The decision to allow the people to move to another site came after a meeting between the Chief Commissioner of Co-Operation and Development in the Western Cape, Mr Timo Benuidenhoud and representatives of the squatters.

The commissioner said permission had been given to erect tents only. Plastic ma-

terial could be used, however.

The squatters were told that a request to erect temporary wood-and-iron structures would be considered.

The people moved on Tuesday night and by early yesterday a small squatter settlement had mushroomed.

About 200 more of the 700 squatters being considered for legal status in the Western Cape yesterday joined the original 100 people.

Mr Theophilus Tayo, a squatter committee member said the Administration Board had allocated the site early yesterday and promised to return later to install water and ablution facilities.

The latest decision by the board brings to 500 the total number of former no-name squatters who are now, with the board's sanction, within 100 m of the original camp.

They are all from the group of about 700 people Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-Operation and Development, had agreed to consider for legal status.

The date for a final decision has been set for September 20 and people have had their pass books endorsed until then.

BLACK MINeworkERS GET LOW PAY, NO TRAINING

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Joshua Raboroko]

[Text]

**THE AVERAGE WHITE** mine underground novice earns more than R1 000 a month, while his black counterpart earns only R240 a month, The SOWETAN established yesterday.

The reason for the large disparity, it was claimed yesterday, was because, while whites received training before being engaged in the mining industry, blacks did not get such training.

In fact, the white Mineworkers' Union has strongly opposed any relaxation on job reservation on the mines.

It has also been announced that thousands of black novice surface workers will get a new starting rate of R100 a month from today.

A statement issued by the Chamber of Mines said that the increase represented a hike of R10 or 11.1 percent over the previous starting wage of R90 a month for novice surface workers.

The statement also says that all black workers on the gold mines and some platinum mines and coal mines will benefit from the new salary adjustments.

Novice

The new cash minimum starting rate for novice underground workers will be R129 a month plus free board, lodging and other benefits estimated to be worth an additional R90 a month. This represents an increase of R14 a month, or 12.2

percent over the previous novice starting rate of R115 a month.

A spokesman for the Chamber of Mines said that the Wiehahn Commission had recommended removal of job discrimination in the industry, but white miners had opposed these recommendations. He added that the Chamber looked forward "to the day when discrimination will be absolutely removed" so that black miners could receive the same training as that given to whites.

CSO: 4700/1527

## WORKING COSTS UP SHARPLY AT GFSA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 p 21

[Text]

**WORKING** costs of mines in the Gold Fields group (GFSA) for the second quarter of this year increased at an average rate of 2,5 percent, a trend which will probably accelerate in the third quarter of the year when all salary and wage increases come into effect.

At some of the mines, costs per ton milled increased as much as 7 percent. The head of GFSA's gold division, Colin Fenton, yesterday had very little explanation on why costs had increased so steeply despite higher tonnage milled.

**Artificial**

Another feature of the second quarter results was high capital expenditure and the fact that State share of the profits had dropped considerably.

This led to the artificial situation where after-tax profits for the quarter were better than those of the previous quarter despite a further deterioration in the average price of gold.

The tonnage milled by the operating mines in the group increased to 3 586 000 tons, against 3 517 000.

The grade was also slightly higher at 9,9 (9,7) gram/tons, which led to a slightly higher gold production.

**Sundry Items**

This was, however, not enough to prevent profit from gold operations sliding from R240-million to R237-million.

After other sundry items, the profit before tax and the State's share of the profits showed a drop of 2,5 percent and amounted to R274-million.

Capital expenditure for the quarter increased from R45-million to R57-million and was the main reason why tax and the State's share of the profit dropped from R147-million to R92-million.

Tax and the State share paid by DRIEFONTEIN CONSOLIDATED decreased by R38-million as a result of the acquisition of the mining assets of West Driefontein in terms of the scheme for the merger of those two companies.

The reduced provision for tax and State's share of the profit caused the taxed profit to increase by R49-million from R133-million to R182-million.

**EAST DRIEFONTEIN** was one of the mines that showed a sharp increase in costs despite the fact that the tonnage milled was unchanged.

Cost per ton milled was up from R43,66 to R46,66.

**WEST DRIEFONTEIN** fared a little better by maintaining its cost increase within 5 percent. At both the mines the grade was slightly better, which led to higher gold production.

**DRIEFONTEIN CONSOLIDATED** showed a pre-tax profit of R178,6-million (R183,4-million).

Tax and State share of the profit as a result of the merger dropped from R106,9-million to R55,8-million, leaving the combined operation with an aftertax profit of R122,8-million (R78,5-million).

Mr Fenton pointed out yesterday that although the saving of R38-million was brought into account in the second quarter, the consideration underlying the transaction was subject to review by the Government Mining Engineer. Depending on his ruling next tax saving may require some adjustment.

**LIBANON'S** result showed very little change from the first quarter.

Gold production was slightly better because of the better grade.

This counteracts the lower gold price to such an extent that the amount for distribution is the same as it was in the previous quarter.

		Tonn milled	Yield 000s	Costs g/t	Costs R/ton	Revenue t/oz	Revenue t/oz	Net Profit R/Kg	Net Profit after Profit R000s	EPS after Capex R000s
<b>DRIE CONS</b>	June							122 798	90 140	88
	Mar							78 485	59 550	63
<b>WEST DRIE</b>	June	720	14.3	52.24	108	335	11 530			
	Mar	720	14.2	49.93	111	371	11 770			
<b>EAST DRIE</b>	June	705	13.1	46.68	103	334	11 520			
	Mar	705	12.8	43.86	108	374	11 873			
<b>LIBANON</b>	June	420	6.4	44.28	200	333	11 509	10 573	4 253	54
	Mar	420	6.2	42.80	217	370	11 756	11 190	4 273	54
<b>KLOOF</b>	June	470	14.8	61.77	121	334	11 515	28 974	17 180	57
	Mar	424	14.8	65.46	139	372	11 814	28 138	17 542	58
<b>DEELKRAAL</b>	June	335	5.1	48.97	280	332	11 444	3 888	(538)	
	Mar	315	4.7	49.83	334	372	11 803	2 684	(1 713)	
<b>VLAKS</b>	June	195	1.2	9.52	297	324	11 185	404	406	7
	Mar	192	1.2	9.85	337	385	12 200	385	392	7
<b>VENTERS</b>	June	375	4.6	46.86	296	330	11 384	2 878	1 724	34
	Mar	375	4.1	45.23	348	378	11 979	3 170	1 707	34
<b>DOORNS</b>	June	368	7.7	54.63	206	334	11 515	12 450	4 158	42
		368	8.0	51.02	201	373	11 825	11 156	6 006	60

KLOOF had a very good quarter despite the underground fire that occurred at the mine in May this year. Tonnage milled was 470 000, against the vious quarter's 424 000, but the grade was unchanged. Profit after tax and the State share was virtually unchanged at R29-million (R28,1-million).

Strikes at Kloof caused virtually a 100 percent stoppage on Monday.

The results of this will show up in the current quarter's figures.

DEELKRAAL was another mine with a good quarter. Tonnage milled increased to 335 000 (315 000) and the grade to 5,1 (4,7) gram/ton. Mr Penton said it was hoped to increase the grade still further in the third quarter.

VENTERSPOST lifted its yield to 4,6 (4,1) percent on an un-

changed tonnage. The profit from gold was also better, but State aid decreased to R141 000 (R1-million), with the result that the profit after tax dropped to R2,9-million (R3,2-million).

DOORNFONTEIN could not maintain its grade because of lower average values prevailing in the underground workings.

Tonnage milled was maintained, but the lower grade led to a drop in gold production.

The result was that profit before tax was sharply lower.

There was, however, a sharp drop in tax so that after tax profits increased slightly.

VLAKFONTEIN's results was very little changed from those of the previous quarter. The mine showed an after-tax profit of R404 000, against the previous quarter's R385 000.

SWAZILAND SWAP COULD DIVIDE BLACKS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 5 Jul 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Ghastly to Contemplate"]

[Text]

**THE SECURITY** Police have sent an urgent telegram to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi telling him that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has requested an urgent meeting with him over the controversial Ingwavuma land issue.

If there is one political gift the Government has given Chief Buthelezi, the incredible mess-up over this issue was the best. Not only is Chief Buthelezi getting all the favourable publicity, and the opportunity to deliver his acid invective, he is also seen as the "good guy" in the controversy. Chief Buthelezi is also astute enough to use this golden gift to build his image and consolidate his strengths even further.

When it comes to the final horse-trading with P W Botha, he (Chief Buthelezi) will be in a position of strength.

The Government has mishandled this issue from the day that Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, astonished the world by announcing the excision of this part of SA to Swaziland.

In a way, it serves the Government right for its discourtesy in not consulting people in issues that directly involve them — a tactic they have used with arrogant insouciance for years. Chief Buthelezi can be congratulated from bringing them to heel in this fashion.

But what both Chief Buthelezi and the Swaziland government should not lose sight of is the fact that this muddle may lead to division between blacks — a thing that could have Pretoria laughing all the way. They should try by all means not to get blacks involved in a tribal battle that will be simply too ghastly to contemplate.

CSO: 4700/1544

WHITE, BLACK MINERS EQUALLY CONCERNED OVER PAY

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Jul 82 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text]

**THE PAY** of all black workers on gold mines, collieries and some platinum mines will be increased from tomorrow, according to a notice from the Chamber of Mines.

That may sound like good news until you hear the appalling scales for black miners, underground and on the surface.

A statement issued by the Chamber of Mines Public Relations Department gives the new cash minimum starting rate for novice underground workers as R129 a month plus free board, lodging and other benefits estimated to be worth an additional R90 a month.

The new minimum starting rate for novice surface workers will be R100 a month. This, the report says, represents an increase of R10 or about eleven percent over the previous starting rate of R90 a month for novice surface workers.

This startling revelation about the abysmally low pay given to black mineworkers comes at a time when there are moves to improve their lot significantly, but it will take a long time for them to get a decent wage scale.

It also coincidentally happens that the Chamber is having talks with white unions on a new labour-relations structure that includes the relaxation of racial job bars — in

other words, job reservation. Mining is the only major industry that still has statutory bars on black job advancement.

White miners are also preparing for a strike ballot over a wage dispute with the Chamber. The declaration of the dispute is usually the first step en route to a legal strike.

The plight of black workers on the mines has a long and painful history, confused and perhaps intensified by the fact that most if not all of these workers are foreigners from neighbouring states. They need the money, however minimal it is, and it has in fact been said that what they get on South African mines is more than what they would even dream of getting in their own countries.

Their trap is further tightened by the fact that there is a powerful white miners' union, which is most verkramp, to say the least. White miners are now fighting against improvement given to black workers

because they believe this is in conflict not only with the country's policies but with their financial interests.

The outgoing president of the Chamber said at the annual general meeting that whites on the mines were probably better off than employees in any other sector.

We have heard in fact that some white miners can get up to R2 000 a month, and even more, with some of the benefits involved in their specialised kind of work. The fact that black miners work in the same area, and perhaps even do more dangerous work than their white colleagues, makes their plight even more tragic. It does seem something of a shame for white workers to go up in arms when their pay is so many times more than the pittance blacks get. It is also a shame for the Chamber of Mines to allow this despicable situation to persist, however difficult the means for improvement may be.

CSO: 4700/1527

## SOUTH AFRICA

### NATAL FARMER SHOOTS TERRORISTS SOUGHT FOR SABOTAGE

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Jun 82 pp 1,2

[Article: "Sabotage in Natal -- Young Farmer Shoots Two terrorists"]

[Text] Paulpietersburg -- Tuesday night, a young farmer from the district shot and killed two terrorists during an exchange of gunfire, after having given them a ride in his pick-up truck while they were hitch-hiking in the district.

Mr Phillip Scheepers (23 years old) recognized one of the terrorists, who was suspected of being a member of the gang of terrorists involved in the sabotage which took place in the district earlier last week, from a photograph he had seen on a television news report.

The story of the shooting was told yesterday to DIE BURGER by his father, Mr Jannie Scheepers, from the Hartland farm in the Paulpietersburg district.

The terrorists, Bheki Sam Mchunu (26 years old) and a companion, who has not been identified yet, had been on the run for more than a week.

Three other suspected terrorists, who were presumably involved in the attempted sabotage, were rounded up earlier this week by the police and are currently being held under the public safety act.

A fifth terrorist, Galokwe Thembinkosi Sithole (29 years old) from Nqutu near Dundee in Natal, is still free. He is roughly 1.67 meters tall, well-built and has a light complexion. He is probably armed and is considered extremely dangerous. People who have seen him or who can provide any information as to his whereabouts, are requested to get in touch immediately with the nearest police station.

#### On the Way

Mr Scheepers related that about half past ten on Monday evening he was on the way from town to his farm. Phillip and a friend, Danie Swanepoel, followed roughly 15 minutes later in a pick-up truck.

He saw the two black men along the road, where they were hitch-hiking, but he had driven past them.

Shortly before this, however, Phillip and Danie had been at the home of friends in town, where they had seen the suspected terrorists in a news program on television. The unarmed Phillip had recognized one of the men and stopped to ask where they were going.

The fact that the terrorists said they were heading for Comondale, but that they were not at all on the right way, further confirmed Phillip's suspicions, and he offered them a ride in the back of the pick-up truck.

Vanished

"My son wanted to bring the terrorists to our house in order to take them into custody there," said Mr Scheepers. "When he got home, he told them that they would have to wait a minute by the pick-up truck, while he asked me whether he could take them to Comondale."

However, the terrorists has suspected trouble, and when Phillip and his father returned, they had vanished.

The night watchman, who takes care of the farm store, saw what direction the terrorists had disappeared in. With Mr Scheepers and Danie in the cab of the pick-up truck and Phillip and the night watchman in the back, they went to look in the same direction.

After they had driven three times back and forth along the road in vain, Phillip told his father that the terrorists would probably just wait until they disappeared before coming out of their hiding place. Phillip then suggested that he and the night watchman jump off the pick-up truck while his father drove on. As luck would have it, they jumped off barely 15 meters away from the hiding place of the terrorists.

One of the terrorists had suddenly opened fire with his AK-47 and Phillip had to fall flat. "The Nkosana has been shot," the night watchman anxiously cried out and ran fast into the veld.

One of the terrorists had apparently heard him and lifted his head. Phillip started shooting with his R1 rifle and hit the terrorist with three bullets in the head.

His companion started firing back, but was hit.

The police arrived on the scene a few minutes later and found two AK-47 automatic rifles, two hand grenades, four magazines full of ammunition, roughly 5 kilograms of plastic explosives and several ANC pamphlets in their possession.

8463

CSO: 4701/92

## SOUTH AFRICA

### BRIEFS

GEC TRACTION ORDER--A R32-MILLION order for electrical equipment to be used in electric locomotives has been given to GEC Traction & Signal, a member of the GEC South Africa group, by South African Transport Services through the main contractor, Union Carriage & Wagon Company. The order is for 65 sets of traction equipment for 6E1 locomotives, to be supplied at the rate of five a month, starting during 1983 and continuing through to 1984. The order brings to 1 065 the total number of sets supplied by, or on order from, GEC Traction & Signal. The chairman of the company, Mr Don Nash, said that manufacture of the electrical equipment would be shared equally between GEC Traction & Signal's factory at Driehoek, Germiston, and GEC Traction Limited of Manchester, England. Mr Nash said: "GEC Traction & Signal is the only South African manufacturer of complete sets of electrical equipment for locomotives and motor coaches in the Republic, and the order ensures continuity of production at our Driehoek factory until the end of 1984. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 p 21]

CUBANS MUST GO--MR BOTHA said that South Africa was determined to stand firm on her demand that the Cuban presence in Angola be withdrawn before the South West African problem was settled. "We have made our point very clear that we are not standing in the way of South West Africa's independence," he said. "All we want is that all the peoples of South West Africa have the opportunity of expressing their will on the subject of its Government in an unbiased way and without intimidation or at gunpoint." South West Africa was a tremendous financial burden to South Africa and was costing the Republic hundreds of millions of rand a year. "And nobody is supporting us in carrying this heavy burden--or even easing it." But South Africa's attitude was that as long as there was a Cuban presence in Angola there was a threat--and she was now receiving open and outspoken support from some leaders in the United States. South Africa's military presence in South West Africa had been requested by the people of South West Africa--was a direct result of requests from leaders there. "We are prepared to leave if the people want it--other than Swapo. With the Minister of Foreign Affairs I recently discussed this very question with South West African leaders and asked them bluntly if they wanted us to leave. No one wanted it. We will stay there as long as we are required, with the matter to be considered on its merits." Of the Cubans he said: "We want to see them leaving to believe it. If one or two remain--they could always be kept to show future generations what Cubans look like. But the mass of Cubans must go. I don't mean only a dozen or so--their departure must be seen to be happening." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 p 3]

3-YEAR PROCESS--DURBAN--The handover of the three Zululand game reserves, Mkuze, Umfolosi and Hluhluwe to the KwaZulu government would take about three years to complete, Mr John Geddes-Page, Director of the Natal Parks Board, said in Pietermaritzburg yesterday. He said the Natal Provincial Administration had given the KwaZulu authorities an undertaking that they would do everything to assist the Zulu Administration to administer the game reserves properly. The present culling programme in the reserves would continue until the handover. The Parks Board was excited about the prospect of developing new areas into game reserves, also part of the package deal announced by the Government last month. Attention would have to be given to fencing off these areas and also stocking them with game. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 July 82 p 11]

ANTI-MULTIRACIAL BEACH CAMPAIGN--DURBAN--A massive campaign is to begin in Durban soon to unseat Durban city councillors with Progressive Federal Party affiliations. The campaign is a sequel to the city council decision earlier this month to go ahead with the idea of a multiracial beach and a multiracial swimming bath in the Snell Parade area on the beach front. The campaign will get under way with a public meeting in the Durban City Hall on Monday night under the umbrella of the "South Africa First Campaign" organisation. A rate-payers' association will be formed at the meeting. Durban city councillor Mr Cornelius Koekemoer revealed yesterday that he had thrown his full weight behind the campaign to "break the super-liberal clique" who, he claims, controls the council. He said people of all political affiliations, apart from the PFP, had agreed to join the campaign. There had been great support for the move to get rid of the super-liberals who were hell bent on integrating amenities in the city without caring for the conservative people and also the city's holiday trade, which was a great money earner. Already thousands of pamphlets advertising the meeting have been distributed in Durban. The pamphlet says: "Don't let the PFP trample on your rights." Mr Koekemoer said that when the city council elections were held later this year candidates would be put up to oppose the "liberal candidates" who were forcing through unpopular integration measures over the heads of a strong body of conservative opinion. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jul 82 p 11]

CSO: 4700/1544

## LUPHOHLO WORKERS WALK OUT

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 24 Jun 82 pp 1, 16

[Article by James Dlamini]

[Text]

**WORKERS at the strife-torn Luphohlo project went on strike yesterday — demanding that sacked strike leader Zeblon Tsabedze be reinstated immediately.**

At least 400 workers downed tools in Siphocosini after being informed that Mr. Tsabedze had been sacked.

The workers said Mr. Tsabedze refused to take his pay when he was told that he was being fired and refused to sign a paper confirming his dismissal.

He informed the workers that he had been sacked and was leaving. They immediately downed tools and demanded that Mr. Tsabedze be allowed to put his case and also that management explain why he had been dismissed before they could return to work.

Workers told The Times that police dashed to the scene immediately. They saw Mr. Tsabedze being picked up in a police van, but they did not know where he was taken.

Mr. Tsabedze led a major strike of employees of Wimpey International earlier this year in which workers demanded pay rises, improved working conditions, the dismissal of two members of management and the end to alleged racism and use of abusive language by personnel officers.

Workers said that since the strike, Mr. Tsabedze has been subjected to sustained harassment and taunts by expatriate supervisors at work.

### Management

They said added to that, management tried to get rid of him by transferring him from Siphocosini to Mvutshini where there is another Wimpey workforce on the project. They said they fired him then hoping that the workers would not notice it.

They said Mr. Tsabedze lived in Siphocosini and they viewed his transfer as a trap so that he would come to work late and then get fired on that pretext. They alleged that when management realised that it didn't work and he came on time, they fired him without a reason.

The workers managers kept "taunting" Mr. Tsabedze at work by patting

him on the shoulders and saying: "Tsabedze you have lost a job."

"But he exercised extreme patience," they said.

Mr. Tsabedze is a member of the works committee. The workers said they would not go back to work unless Mr. Tsabedze was reinstated. They alleged that the other members of the works committee had "sold out" to management by trying to persuade them to go to work.

They said that three members of the committee saw Mr. Tsabedze being picked up by police when he was fired, but they said he had been suspended.

"They think they can sell us to the English like that. We are not as foolish as they think," the workers shouted.

### Committee

"How can a man be suspended and taken in a police van. Why did the police decide to give him a lift today?" they shouted. "If they sack Tsabedze, they may as well sack the whole workforce. We elected him to the committee. We did not know that we were causing trouble for him and his family when we elected him. The whole committee may as well be dissolved. We don't want more people to get into trouble for

us," one of the workers shouted amid applause.

"If the government does not want works committees, then they must tell us and we will dissolve the committee," another said.

"They tell us to elect people to the committee and these people are not protected. They are intimidated and dismissed if they talk the truth," another shouted.

"They want flatterers all the time," he said. They also demanded the dismissal of a Mr. Nsibandze, a personnel officer. "If they don't dismiss Nsibandze as we have been telling them for so long, then we'll beat him up," another shouted and was applauded.

The police team was led by Senior Superintendent Majaji Simelane, who instructed journalists not to take pictures.

The Labour Commissioner, Mr. Ralph Bhembe and the District Commissioner for Hhohho, Mr. J.D. Dlamini addressed the workers and told them to go back to work.

Mr. Bhembe said Wimpney workers had a bad habit of going on strike to solve misunderstandings instead of going through his department. "We know you have a complaint and there are formal channels through which you can get redress. As it is now

you are on strike illegally," he said. "Illegal strikes cannot be tolerated."

But workers shouted: "If you are going to be talking to us like that, you may as well pay us off right away. We want an explanation and we don't know why you say we are on strike."

Bhembe: "There are different types of strikes. You can stay away from work, or you can come to work and sit down."

Workers: "We don't care about your preaching, bring Tsabed here, that's not too much to ask for."

Bhembe: "It's not going to be as easy as you think."

Senior Superintendent Simelane: "Yes, is not as easy as they think."

Workers: "Bhembe go away, you always talk to us like children. We prefer to talk to the police than talk to you. They are much more reasonable than you."

Senior Superintendent Simelane: "It looks as if I shall have to pass the matter over to the District Commissioner to apply the law now. The Labour Commissioner has told you what to do. Things are not done like this in Swaziland. This is unSwazi."

Workers: "Is it Swazi to intimidate workers and treat a committee member like this?"

Simelane: "Leave it to your committee to handle

everything."

Workers: "And get more committee members into trouble?"

Simelane: "I'm going to hand over to the DC to apply the law."

Workers: "Now don't try to scare us. We're not schoolchildren. What have the white men given you up in those offices?"

District Commissioner: "I don't like to do what you are tempting me to do, but I may have to do it. I'll give you three warnings. It's going to be painful because some of you may not see your families today."

### Afrikaners

Workers: "You can't force us to work, forget it. Why can't you people negotiate with us? Why do you have to rely on threats all the time? Is that the Swazi way you are telling us about? Those English people, they always outwit you. The Labour Department handles Afrikaners much better, but the English beat you and you have to use threats at us. They tell you something and you shut up and come running to us."

Simelane: "You are speaking like politicians now. I won't stand politicians, now go back to work!"

Management refused to comment.

# KING SETS UP SUPREME BODY

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 25 Jun 82 pp 1, 20

[Article by James Dlamini]

[Text:]

**KING Sobhuza II has established a new powerful policy-making body which will be called the Supreme Council of State.**

The council, which shall consist of persons personally appointed by the King will be the most powerful body after the King and the Queen Mother.

The King and the Queen Mother automatically become members of the Council; otherwise membership is not hereditary, nor can anyone automatically become a member by virtue of any position either in the government or a traditional position in the dual regime.

## Liqoqo

This decree formalises the "Liqoqo," and gives it more sweeping powers. It also formalises the traditional authority in the dual regime.

An authoritative legal source said before the establishment of the council, the "Liqoqo" had been "an amorphous and not so easily identifiable body."

The decree further

emphasises that appointments to the all powerful council will be on individual merit rather than ex-officio. The proclamation is to be the "supreme law" of Swaziland and if any other law is inconsistent or in conflict with it, that law will be considered to be null and void for any purposes.

## Regency

The decree sets out the powers of the King, his duties and functions. It also defines the Regency and succession to the throne. The decree further clarifies the King's functions in regard to traditional law and customs.

The Supreme Council of State will have the power to appoint a person to perform the functions of the Regent if the Queen Mother or Indlovukazi is for any reason unable to do so. This appointment can be made at any time and under any circumstances when there is a need to do so.

The decree provides other amendments to the Ngwenyama's proclamation of 1973 when the independence constitution was abolished and a state of emergency which is still in force today was announced.

The provisions banning political parties, all political activities and providing that

all meetings will be authorised by the Commissioner of Police were not amended.

The decree contains the emoluments payable to the King, his immunity from taxation and from civil and criminal proceedings. Those provisions also apply to the office of the Queen Mother as Regent and the authorised person during the period pending the installation of a successor to the King.

"The King's proclamation of 1973 did not reinstate some fundamental provisions which, among other things, expressly spell out the legal status of the King, namely that he is the head of state," a palace statement reads in part.

"In addition, the other amendments are designed to empower the King to act, in the discharge of his functions, in accordance with Swazi law and custom. traditionall position, governed by Swazi law and

customs, it has been appropriate to omit from the existing law and requirement of a King or Ndlovukazi to take an oath before the chief justice or any other judicial authority.

"In this respect, it is felt — and we think correctly so — that the Swazi traditional process of installing a new King (kubeka) carries sufficient authority, validity and acceptability in its own right without the additional requirement of a ceremonial oath which does not enhance the substance of Kingship, but which, if not complied with, could give rise to legalistic and other unsettling arguments of a potentially disruptive nature," the statement reads.

"We have also carefully and seriously deliberated on the national importance of the Establishment of Parliament of Swaziland Order, 1978."

CSO: 4700/1529

# PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ENDORSES SAP AFTER IN-DEPTH DELIBERATIONS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 28 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The Party Central Committee has said the Government three-year Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) is an elaboration of earlier formulations aimed at national economic rehabilitation.

The committee, which ended its three-day session under the chairmanship of Mwalimu Nyerere, said SAP lays the basis for negotiations with donor countries and international financial agencies interested in aiding rehabilitation efforts without endangering the Party's socialist policies.

According to a press statement issued yesterday in Dar es Salaam by the Party Chief Executive Secretary, Ndugu Daudi Mwakawago, the committee endorsed SAP after in-depth deliberations.

He said the committee was of the view that the programme is a comprehensive elaboration of the objectives set in the National Economic Survival Programme (NESP).

"SAP explains in more detail the nature of our economic problems and prescribes solutions to some of them. The committee also stressed that the programme is an implementation of basic Party decisions contained in NESP", the statement said.

The statement explained, that the programme incorporates all major facets of NESP — promote export crops and goods to increase foreign change reserves; raise food crop production; and control recurrent expenditure.

Other major points are: redirecting resource investment into areas meant for economic rehabilitation; judicious allocation of foreign exchange; and ensuring production of necessary consumer goods.

The three-year adjustment programme was presented in Parliament during the on-going Budget session and is aimed at bolstering industrial and agricultural production and consolidating the service, communications and energy sectors.

According to SAP, the country requires 10,026m/- in foreign aid as import support for essential goods, raw materials and spare parts.

The programme also seeks to raise the country's foreign exchange reserve position through agricultural and industrial exports enabling the country to meet the costs of essential imports by 1985/86.

SAP further aims at reducing the country's debt burden which levelled at more than 2,800m/- by last December.

Some of the industries will have to be closed down to maximise foreign exchange utilisation. The thrust will be to sustain only projects supplementing the national revival plan.

The Party statement, also said the Central Committee deliberated

on the Zanzibar trade and industrial sectors and directed that its observations be passed on to the Zanzibar government for implementation.

The statement did not give any further details.

Committee members also considered the 1982/83 Party estimates envisaging a revenue of 393,894,449/- and expenditure of 391,387,233/-, which will be forwarded to the National Executive Committee (NEC) for final consideration.

A substantial part of the revenue will come from members fees and contributions, contributions from the Union Government and the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government as well as miscellaneous funding from sales of Party literature and other items.

The members also considered the Tanzania Workers Organisation (JUWATA) request to raise membership fees from 5/- to 10/- and that members contributions be based on monthly deductions from salaries, calculated by percentage.

The request was granted, but the CC is to present the report before the NEC.

The CC business centred on reports from its specialised committees — the Special Committee on Zanzibar Government Affairs; Standing Committee on Development Planning and Standing Committee on Party Activities.

CSO: 4700/1543

## MINISTER DISCUSSES NATION'S ENERGY PROSPECTS, PROJECTS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 2 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Mike Sikawa]

[Text]

THE Government is to spend some 4,565 million/- for constructing the proposed ammonia and urea plant at Kilwa in Lindi Region for utilising the natural gas reserves at Songo Songo, the Minister for Water and Kasesem, told the National Assembly in Dar es Salaam yesterday.

Presenting the 1982/83 estimates for his Ministry, Ndugu Kassum told the House that efforts were now underway to identify the sources of financing for the project whose production is scheduled to begin towards the end of 1985.

Ndugu Kassum said his Ministry had now confirmed sufficient gas reserves at Songo Songo to satisfy requirements of the proposed ammonia and urea plant.

He said surveys were now being carried out in order to select the site for the erection of the plant capable of producing about 345,000 tonnes of ammonia and 520,000 tonnes of urea a year.

"My Ministry believes that the 41 billion cubic metres of gas so far confirmed at Songo Songo, plus anticipated future discoveries at Kimbiji, the Zanzibar Channel and along the southern coast of Tanzania, could provide substantial quantities of natural gas", Ndugu Kassum said.

The Minister stated that in order to ensure the nation derived maximum benefit from its gas

resources, a separate study on the utilisation of gas is being prepared.

"We will then be in a position to make a choice for future development on the basis of the options that the study will provide", he said.

The Minister further informed the House that the Tanzania Government, through the Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC), holds 74 per cent in Kilwa Ammonia Company Limited, (KILAMCO), and AGRICO Overseas Investment Corporation (of the United States) has the remaining 26 per cent.

In the area of oil exploration, Ndugu Kassum said phase one of the Songo Songo Drilling Programme was completed in October last year. He said this was a two-well operation designed to appraise the hydrocarbon potential of the Songo Songo field.

This was financed by the World Bank under a 30 million dollar (283m/-) credit to the Government through the International Development Association (IDA), he said, adding that one of the wells, (SS.6) onshore was abandoned on technical grounds.

Ndugu Kassum further explained that the other well (SS-5) was successfully drilled to its terminal depth and will be converted to a gas producer well for KILAMCO project.

He told the House that due to the encouraging results of phase one, the World Bank, together with the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and the European Investment Bank, agreed to co-finance the second phase of the drilling operation with a US 40 million dollars (about 378m/-) credit to the Government.

The Minister said during this phase, TPDC was expected to drill additional wells off-shore Songo Songo. One well, (SS-7) has been successfully completed, "but I regret to say that the second (SS-8) proved to be dry. It is hoped that the first of these wells will be converted to a gas producer well," he said.

Ndugu Kassum said a US 10 million dollars (94.5m/-) loan from the Algerian Government had been utilised by TPDC to drill a test well at Kimbiji in Temeke District using the Algerian rig which was previously used at Songo Songo. The Government was now negotiating for more funds to drill one or more wells to appraise further the hydrocarbon prospects of the area, he said.

Evaluation of prospects in other basins in the country has been continuing, the Minister said, adding that to this effect, the Government and TPDC signed production sharing agreements with two international companies last year.

He said under the agreement with SHELL International, Shell Petroleum Development of Tanzania will explore for oil over an area of about 70,000 square kilometres in five licences, and stated that this was the first time that seismic exploration was being undertaken in the Rufiji Valley.

On the TPDC, Ndugu Kassum informed Parliament that the Corporation imported some 386,258.01 tonnes of Murban Crude oil last year at Abu Dhabi worth 942.5 million/- and a spot cargo of 81,071.36 tonnes of Arabian Light Crude oil worth 168.0 million/-.

He said the total crude oil import bill amounted to 1,110.5 million/- compared to 1,250.5 million/- in 1980 although purchasing price for Murban Crude oil had risen.

Lack of foreign exchange and difficulties in procurement and the implementation of fuel conservation measures were the causes of the decrease in volume of crude imported, the Minister said. He said during the same year, TPDC imported white

petroleum products worth 819.2 million/-.

The Minister said the Tanzania Italian Petroleum Refinery (TIPER) plant in Dar es Salaam did not meet the country's requirements of refined products, noting that this year, TIPER production was expected to be 558,900 tonnes whereas the country's requirements of refined products were estimated at 807,500 tonnes.

TIPER could, therefore, refine only 69 per cent of the requirements, and the deficit, amounting to 248,600 tonnes will have to be imported at an estimated cost of 970.7 million/-, the Minister said.

Ndugu Kassum said the total oil bill this year stands at 2,864.6 million/- compared to 2,052.8 million/- in 1981. This was an increase of 39.5 per cent, and is accounted for by the March 1982 devaluation of the Tanzanian shilling and the increase in quantities of oil imports.

Some 46,524 tonnes of petroleum products worth 243.7 million/- were exported in neighbouring countries last year compared to only 12,043 tonnes worth 53.4 million/- in 1980. This year, some 103,660 tonnes worth 355.1 million/- are to be exported, he said.

The Minister told the MPs that the petrol rationing system was now working smoothly, and stated the Ministry now has a system of fixed supply quotas to retail outlets which is subject to regular review and adjustment when necessary.

Each region outside Dar es Salaam was allocated a fixed quota of petrol and petroleum products. Due to transportation problems, however, most regions have not been receiving their quotas, especially so with the refusal by tanker owners to send their vehicles up-country because of bad roads.

Ndugu Kassum requested the House to approve the Ministry's estimates totalling 536,023,100/- out of which 461,727,000/- will be for development expenditure while 74,296,100/- will be for recurrent expenditure.

INDIAN TEAM EXPRESSES OPTIMISM ABOUT NATION'S FOOD SUFFICIENCY

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 27 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Mkumbwa Ally]

[Text] Timely distribution of agricultural inputs, farm implements and better quality of seeds will enable Tanzania to attain food sufficiency in the next two years and produce surplus for export in the near future.

This optimism was expressed in Dar es Salaam yesterday by a three-man team of Indian agricultural scientists led by the Vice-Chancellor of Haryana Agriculture University, Dr. D. R. Bhumbha.

The experts, following-up an earlier visit by the famous Indian agricultural scientists, Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, who toured the country last April at the invitation of President Nyerere, visited agricultural industries, training institutes and villages for the last one week.

Dr. Bhumbha told reporters yesterday after discussions with Agriculture Minister John Baptist, Machunda and other ministry officials that Tanzania had excellent soils and water resources which, with appropriate technology, would raise agricultural output.

"One of our observation is that Tanzania is capable of feeding itself, not only in the distant future but in a year or two if appropriate plans are implemented. The country would also produce a surplus for export in the near future," he said.

The scientist said emphasis should be on higher yield per acre, adding that research should be conducted to establish better quality seeds, fertilizers and farm implements.

Small rather than large-scale irrigation schemes, mainly those using hand-driven pumps should be started, he said. He explained, however, that research must be conducted to determine the extent to which these would be spread.

He said available data showed that the country imported only 10 per cent of her food requirements which mainly went to the urban population.

The records also indicated that the country produced enough maize and millet but that these were not widely consumed because of selective eating habits, he pointed out.

He said small agro-industries should be established at the village level to enable villagers manufacture basic requirements. "Things like hoes, ploughs and seed oil should be made locally by villagers," he suggested.

Dr. Bhumbila said Tanzania needed an agriculture university to offer technical guidance and advice on agricultural development. His team would ask the Indian government to assist in establishment of such institution, he added.

The experts who were expected to leave for home last night met President Nyerere, the Prime Minister, Ndugu Cleopa Msuya, Finance Minister Amir Jamal and the Minister for Water and Energy, Ndugu Al Noor Kassum.

They also toured the Ubungo Farm Implements factory and a hydrology laboratory in Dar es Salaam, the National Milling Corporation, flood areas in Kyela District, Dakawa and Mbarali state farms and Nyegezi Agricultural Training Institute in Mwanza.

The other members of the team were chief hydrologist and member of the central ground water board, Dr. B.D. Pathak and Dr. D.P. Misra from the Indian National Research Centre for Groundnuts.

CSO: 4700/1543

## MINISTER OUTLINES STRATEGY TO ENABLE FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 30 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Isaac Mruma]

[Text]

THE MINISTER for Agriculture, Professor John Baptist Machunda, yesterday outlined an elaborate strategy to enable the country attain self-sufficiency in food crops production.

President the multi-pronged strategy in the National Assembly, Professor Machunda stressed the need for proper farming methods, the utilisation of appropriate technologies for farmwork and keeping down production costs to enable peasants profit from their undertakings.

Failure to do this would frustrate national efforts to meet the objectives of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), he told the House when tabling his Ministry's estimates for the 1982/83 financial year.

Professor Machunda admitted that little change had been achieved in Tanzania's agricultural practices ten years after the much-publicised directive to revolutionise farming methods throughout the country.

The strategy includes the establishments and strengthening of farm centres throughout the country to distribute fertiliser, seeds, pesticides and other im-

plements such as hoes, ox-ploughs and spares and components.

Already, there were 22 such centres in the country but that there was no co-ordination among the various authorities on their use, something that would be emphasised during the coming year, he said.

The Minister said efforts would be made to increase the number of animal drawn farm implements for cultivation and farm transportation. He said lack of spares and components had reduced the number of ox-ploughs which were in use during 1980/81 from 159,152 to 127,461.

Professor Machunda said existing tractors would be rehabilitated and used for farming especially in areas where ox-cultivation and the use of tractors had shown promising results.

There would also be great emphasis on the use of fertilisers and manure in farms, the latter in livestock areas, the Minister explained.

The use of improved seed would be encouraged and the research institutions would continue undertaking trials on better seeds which produced more per unit area.

He further said the ministry would continue coordinating and controlling all agricultural research activities in the country.

Efforts would be directed at fighting pests and vermin, and

towards expanding storage capacities throughout the country, he pointed out.

Irrigation farming, the training of agricultural personnel and reviewing the producer prices of crops would also be emphasised, Ndugu Machunda told the House.

Reviewing the outcome of the 1972 Party directive on agriculture, *Siasa ni Kilimo* (politics is agriculture) the Minister said the objectives of the policy had not been met, but more could be done to improve agricultural production.

Painting a sombre picture of the policy, announced following a Party National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting in Iringa in May 1972, Ndugu Machunda said Tanzania's agriculture was still fragile.

Most peasants in the country still depended on the traditional handhoe and even those areas which had taken to ox-cultivation were now turning back to the hoe due to lack of spares and essential components for their implements, he said.

Tanzania's agriculture still

depended on the rain and the country had also failed to deliver to the peasants the much-needed advice on proper agricultural skills, he pointed out.

"There has been little development in the agricultural sector since 1972/73", he said.

He underlined the realities of embracing drought-resistant crops to overcome food shortages when he told the House that whereas maize, wheat and paddy production had been fluctuating, the countrywide output of cassava, sorghum and millet had increased satisfactorily every year.

Millet and sorghum production increased to 970,400 tonnes in the 1980/81 season from 277,300 tons in 1972/73. Cassava production increased from 891,000 tonnes to 1,658,300 tonnes, he added.

The production of cash crops was varied, with some increases and decreases. Coffee output increased from 47,512 tons in

1972/73 to 63,500 tons in 1980/81 and tea from 11,291 tons to 16,388 tons.

Some of the cash crops the production of which fell were cotton — from 356,253 bales to 297,150 and cashewnuts from 145,155 tons in 1973/74 to a mere 60,948 tons in 1980/81, he told the House.

CSO: 4700/1543

# MINISTRY DIRECTS CROP AUTHORITIES TO REDUCE OPERATING COSTS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 30 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

THE Ministry of Agriculture had directed crop authorities to reduce operating costs, including laying off their employees who are in excess of actual demand.

The Minister for Agriculture Professor John Baptist Machunda told the National Assembly yesterday that the ministry had also directed the leaders to;

- Reduce the amount tied to transportation and the running of vehicles.
- Finding cheaper ways of transporting crops,
- Sticking to their recurrent and development budgets and to ensure that they were carefully worked out.
- Keeping clean accounting records.

Professor Machunda said the decision to reduce costs was in response to President

Nyerere's call earlier this year when he opened a tea processing factory at Mwakaleli, Rungwe.

The minister said the crop authorities had financial problems and some of them incurred losses every year due to high production costs which outstripped earnings.

The minister said the fall in world market prices for agricultural crops, competition with synthetics and administrative overheads contributed to an increase in the costs of production compared to earnings.

Ndugu Machunda asked the House to approve a total of 153.8 million/- for recurrent expenditure and 574,586 million/- for development expenditure for the ministry and its departments and parastatals.

CSO: 4700/1543

# FUEL SHORTAGE AFFECTING ATC OPERATIONS, FLIGHTS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 26 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Charles Kizigha]

[Text]

AIR Tanzania Corporation (ATC) is making arrangements to import some chemicals for water methanol from Madagascar to keep its Fokker Friendship fleet in the air.

ATC sources said in Dar es Salaam yesterday that the airline was trying to import sulphuric acid and caustic soda which BP Tanzania badly needed to make the available methanol usable for Fokker Friendship planes.

The Managing Director of BP Tanzania, Mr. N. Callander said that his firm had the methanol but it lacked sulphuric acid and caustic soda normally imported by another firm whose identity he declined to disclose.

The sources said until yesterday the airline was still operating 50 per cent of its fleet — two Boeing 737, three Fokker Friendships and one Twin Otter — because of fuel shortage and non-availability of water methanol.

Although the airline had cut down on its operations, the sources said none of the regional routes were affected except last Sunday when the Seychelles flight had to be cancelled.

The airline would continue to operate to Harare, Blantyre, Lusaka, Bujumbura, Kigali, Seychelles, Muscat, Djibouti, Tananarive and Moroni, they said.

Mr. Callander said his firm would be supplying aviation jet fuel to both Air Tanzania and international airlines meeting 55 per cent of their demand until July 14 when BP expects another pumpover from the Tanzania-Italian Petroleum Refinery (TIPER).

Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC) officials said the current fuel shortage in the country resulted from TIPER's low refinery capacity.

The sources said TIPER's small capacity in relation to the country's demand forced the Government to import some refined oil products which consumed lot of foreign exchange.

As early as June, this year, petroleum companies were forced to reduce supplies of all petroleum products by about 50 per cent.

CSO: 4700/1543

## BRIEFS

**THEFT AT DAR ES SALAAM PORT**--CCM members at the Dar es Salaam Port have urged the Tanzania Harbours Authority (THA) to dismiss unscrupulous employees who engage in theft. In a message to the THA management, 55 new members who were presented with CCM cards at the Kurasini Harbours Club recently said that theft, which has been thriving at the port for quite a long time, had tarnished the image of the port within and outside the country. They noted that motor vehicles, cloth and medicines were "vanishing" from the port and wondered whether all the missing goods were "being destroyed by the sea water." "We have discovered that a container was stolen from the port and a government vehicle with registration number STC 154 was used in stealing sugar from the Ubungu Shed Number XI. Since this is a shameful act, we suggest that the culprits, should be dismissed," the message said. It also asked the Party and JUWATA (Tanzania Workers' Organisation) branches at the port not to defend "these great enemies of the national economy." The members further observed that there had not been fairness when meting judgement on senior officials and the low-class employees found guilty of theft. Commending the good job done by the Port Police, the CCM members appealed to the THA management to provide the necessary assistance, including equipment, to the police to enable them fight the thefts effectively. The ceremony was attended by the Dar es Salaam Port Finance Manager, Ndugu Alison Xerox Sila, who promised to deliver the message to the THA management. [Text] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 26 Jun 82 p 3]

**SUGAR SALES TO EEC**--TANZANIA is to sell some 10,000 tonnes of sugar to the European Economic Community (EEC) during the 1981/82 season, the National Assembly was informed yesterday. The Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Ndugu Lumuli Kasyupa told the House during question-time that already some 8,100 tonnes had been transported from the Tanganyika Planting Company (TPC) in Moshi to Dar es Salaam. Answering a question by the Moshi Rural MP Ndugu A. Meena, the Minister said as a result Tanga, Arusha, Singida and Kilimanjaro regions--the main consumers of TPC sugar--had less stock in their godowns, and steps had been taken to subsidize them from Dar es Salaam. The Minister said only TPC produced export quality sugar. Tanzania exports sugar to EEC countries under the Lome agreements. [Excerpt] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 1 Jul 82 p 3]

**MEDIA APPOINTMENTS**--PRESIDENT Nyerere has appointed Ndugu Abdallah Ngororo the Director of Information Services and Ndugu Kassim Mpenda the News Editor of Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD). A statement issued in Dar es Salaam

by the Ministry of Information and Culture said yesterday that the appointments take immediate effect. Before his new appointment, Ndugu Ngororo was Deputy Editor of the Government Newspapers, The Daily News and Sunday News. Ndugu Ngororo holds a Masters Degree from Leeds University (United Kingdom) and has an honours Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Dar es Salaam where he graduated in 1970. Ndugu Ngororo (37) joined the Government newspapers in March 1970 and held the position of News Editor before rising to become Deputy Editor, a position he held until his new appointment. Ndugu Mpenda (34) graduated at the Dar es Salaam Technical College in 1969. He worked with the Tanzania Information Services in 1970 and later joined the Daily News and Sunday News where he first worked as Sub-Editor and later rose to the position of Chief Sub-Editor. Until his latest appointment, Ndugu Mpenda was Editor of the Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA). He joined the agency in 1979. [Text] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 2 Jul 82 p 1]

CSO: 4700/1543

PRESENCE OF FOREIGN NEWSMEN IN COUNTRY SCORED

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 29 May 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Why Do These Foreign Newsmen Come Here?"]

[Text] FOREIGN journalists who want to come to Uganda should not think they are worth more and therefore they should have the right to trample on our laws and sovereignty. The government has not refused to allow foreigners, even those who have made their occupation a habit to come to Uganda to smear her name abroad, to come and carry out their devilish work here.

President A. Milton Obote has always said that they are free to write what even if it is not the truth. It is no secret that they have often come here, interviewing government leaders but when they returned to their countries, they preferred to write about bandits whom they feed and glorify.

They should not and must not be mistaken to think that we shall allow them to come here and trample on our laws, as did some two western journalists recently. If the two so called newsmen were people of some sense, they should have known that no where in the world can a foreigner of whatever description just walk in a military barracks and demand to interview its commander.

That act by the two journalists, whose credentials we have continued to doubt each day that passes, was both an indication that some foreign so called news-ment who come to this country think they are so important and have the freedom to act illegally.

Only recently the western media, after seeing that the World Bank was organising a donor's conference in Paris thought that the best way to make that conference fail was to ask terrorists to issue fabricated stories that were in turn flashed across headlines of foreign media to make the whole world believe that Uganda was not a country worth helping. We are not just beggars but rather partners in development. We want to be helped so that we can also play a vital role in the development of mankind.

As for foreigners who come here with their shirt collars up, they should not be mistaken that they are above the laws of this country. If they want to write about the country, then they must go where the law allows them to. Every country has laws and foreigners are the last people expected to go against these.

It is our belief that the journalists masquerading as super newsmen even when they are little known in their countries are something else. We suspect that some of the foreign journalists who come here are spies for terrorists and their financiers abroad.

That is why the government must keep the nut tight [;] the guidelines for foreign journalists accreditation here issued by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting early this [?year deserves] the support of the [?people of this] country.

Time will come when we shall also ask the government to make it a rule that all foreign media that want to be represented here should recruit local journalists to do the job, for after all the courtesy and openhandedness we have shown to these ungrateful newsmen is only putting our national interests at peril.

CSO: 4700/1506

# REPORTAGE ON LEGISLATION GOVERNING APPRENTICES

## Control of Recruitment

Harare THE HERALD in English 23 Jun 82 p 1

[Text]

**THE** Government intends to control the recruitment of apprentices, the Minister of Manpower Planning and Development, Dr Frederick Shava, said in Harare yesterday.

Addressing the University of Zimbabwe Economic Society, the minister said:

"The Government will assist companies to recruit new apprentices to coincide with its intention to control the recruitment of apprentice trainees, and so avoid any bias by the companies."

The Government wanted firms to tell it how many apprentices they wanted and they would be supplied, using any criteria specified for selection.

Dr Shava appealed to apprentices who might want to go abroad for further study to consider the manpower situation in the country and "work before thinking of further training".

There were plans to ex-

pand the training of technicians and the public and private sectors would be called upon to provide the necessary practical training in their factories.

"If they are unwilling, legislation could be introduced to enforce this."

## State Bonding

Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Peta Thornycroft]

[Text]

**APPRENTICES** who are still in training next week will be bonded to the State for the period equivalent to their whole training.

Reacting to confusion among Zimbabwe's white apprentices, the Minister of Manpower Planning and Development, Dr Frederick Shava, yesterday confirmed earlier reports: Every apprentice in the country, regardless of whether he has six days or four years of training left, will be bonded to the

State for the entire period of his apprenticeship.

● No figure had been settled on for the cost of training in the many apprenticeships in the country, but the minimum estimates would be in the region of \$5 000.

● Future governments of Zimbabwe would honour the repayment of the monthly deductions of 10 percent from apprentices' wages with approximately 9 percent interest.

Dr Shava said apprentices who complained that the Government had not honoured the defence levy exacted by the previous regime during the liberation war should remember that monies raised during that time were used to "oil the war" and that the present Government could give categorical assurances that all monies would be repaid, with interest, after the completion of the apprentice's training.

● The regulations relating to bonding had been promulgated under the emergency powers because the House of Assembly was not sitting at the time, and the matter of apprentices was urgent.

Dr Shava said it was "absurd" to suggest that after the initial bonding period was completed apprentices would be asked to tie themselves to the State for any further period.

The apprentices said they had approached the Republican Front for clarification of some of the issues which confused them soon after the regulations were promulgated, but said the party had been "incompetent" and was unable to shed any light on the issue.

The Minister said the surety to be provided by the apprentice himself, or his parents, should be with leave the country on holiday, was negotiable, and based on individual merit, but the monthly 10 percent reduction was not.

Many apprentices voiced their confusion to the

Herald yesterday over the new rules applicable to apprentices still in training when the 30-day deadline expires next week.

Dr Shava said no certificates of qualification would be issued to apprentices who had completed their training but did not fulfil their obligations by working a period equal to that of their training.

He said if apprentices paid back the cost of their training, however, they would receive their certificates.

Dr Shava said he was aware of the mood of many of the country's white apprentices who had been faced with the realities of the situation in Zimbabwe, and who were, as a result of the bonding regulations, planning to move to South Africa.

"We would have lost them sooner or later. It's better that we lose them now and face up to the whole situation and make alternative arrangements.

"Those who are planning to go to South Africa would have gone anyway regardless of their obligation to work in Zimbabwe for a period equivalent to their period of training."

Apprentices working in key industries in Harare told the Herald their move to South Africa would be a "stepping stone" as they were aware that they were moving to a country which would be engaged in a serious war.

"We only need a couple of years and then we will have finished our training and move on. We realise South Africa can't win their war, and we don't want to be part of it," an unofficial spokesman for the group said.

The minister, in response to questions raised by the apprentices, made the following points:

● Zimbabwe would move away from South African technical examinations for apprentices, favouring standards set by countries such as Britain and West Germany.

## ZIMBABWE

### BRIEFS

**NEW HQ FOR POLICE--BUILDING** consultants should be engaged to design a new headquarters for Harare's 550-strong municipal police force, a council committee has recommended. The exact site for the new building has not yet been decided but it would be somewhere on Gaul Avenue where the present headquarters are, Harare's director of works, Mr Les Mitchell, said yesterday. About 250 ex-combatants have been integrated into the force since the council decided to employ them last year. More than 250 are still to join. Mr Mitchell said the present headquarters were not large enough for the expanding force and it was probable that the Dairy Marketing Board would take over part of the old headquarters. The council estimated last year that the building would cost \$200 000 but this figure was expected to increase because of rising costs. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Jun 82 p 3]

**RICE IMPORTS--RICE** will be imported into Zimbabwe and should become available towards the end of August, a spokesman for the Grain Marketing Board said yesterday. The GMB has been appointed as the Government agent to import, handle and sell the rice. But, the spokesman said, there was no indication yet of the basis for selling or the price. However, some of the usual conditions of sale were applicable and the minimum quantity sold would be one tonne in any transaction. Although no orders were being taken yet, inquiries about the rice could be addressed to the local sales manager, the GMB, Box 8014, Causeway in Harare. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Jun 82 p 1]

**BRITISH HAWK JETS--LONDON--**The Zimbabwe Air Force is to take delivery on Tuesday of the first batch of Hawk advanced trainers. The handing over ceremony has been arranged by the manufacturer, British Aerospace, and will be attended by various dignitaries including the Zimbabwe High Commissioner here, Mr R. T. Zwinoira, the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Dr S. T. Sekeramayi, and the commander of the Air Force, Air Marshal N. Walsh, and other dignitaries. It is understood that four aircraft will be handed over with another four in the pipeline to make up a full squadron. Further aircraft will be made available if required to keep the squadron up to strength. The Hawk costs about £3 million and the cost of the four aircraft, spares, training and maintenance forms part of a UK credit package. Although designed as an advanced trainer the Hawk can easily be adapted to a variety of configurations to transform it into a highly effective ground attack aircraft. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Jun 82 p 1]

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